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THE ORIGIN AND MIRACLES OF THE HOLY IMAGE OF OUR LADY OF CANDELARIA,

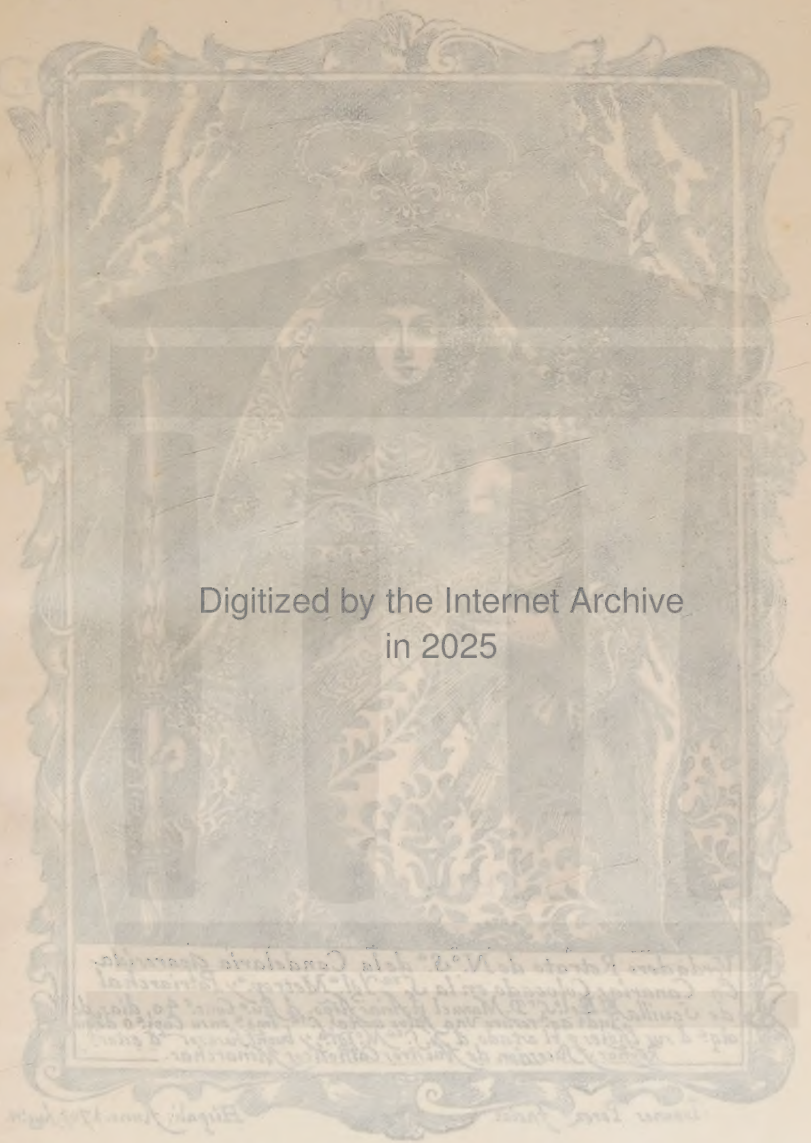
WITH

A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF TENERIFE.

SECOND SERIES.

No. XXI.

ISSUED FOR 1907.



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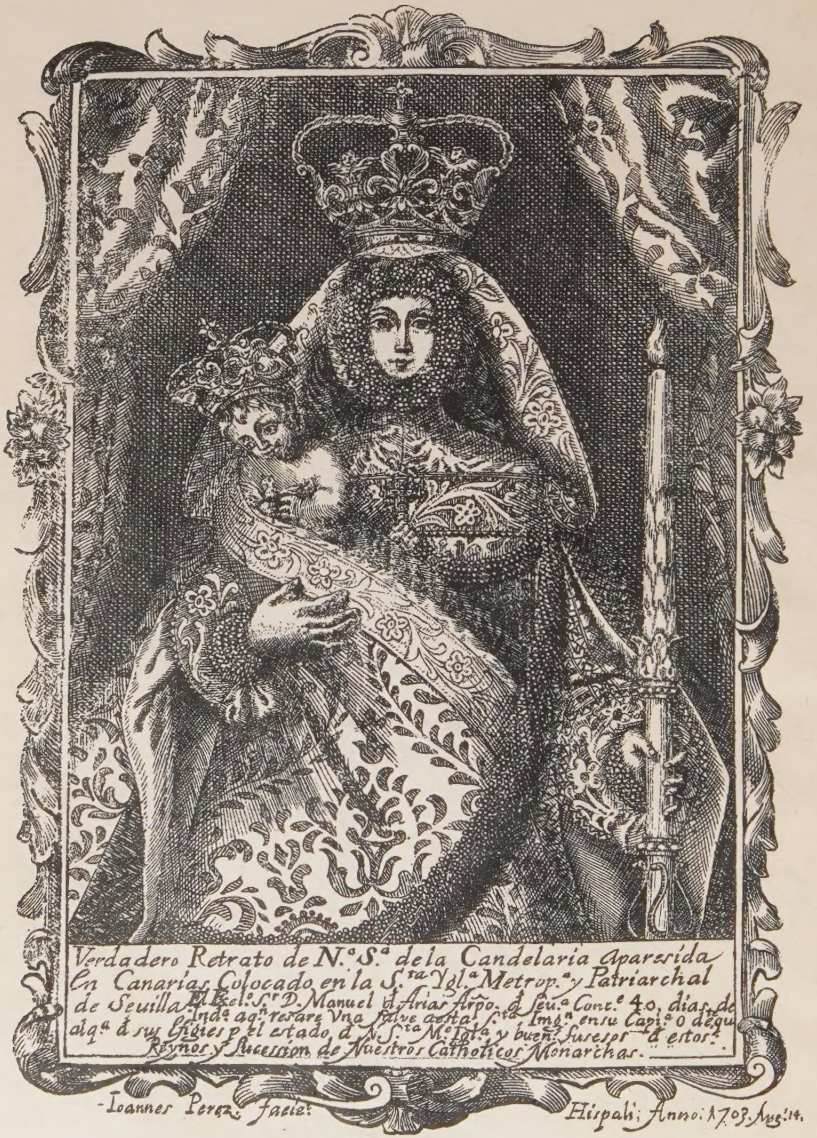
Verdadero Retrato de N.ª S.ª de la Candelaria Aparesida
En Canaria, Colocado en la S.ta Y.gl.ª Metrop.ª y Patriarchal
de Seuilla, el Exc.mo S.r D. Manuel de Arias Arpo. y Seu.ª Conz.ª 40. dias de
Ind.ª aq.l rezare Vna Salue delante de S.ta Ym.ª en su Capi.ª o dequ
alq.ª á sus Grates p.r el estado de N.S.to M.e Igl.ª y buen Sucesso de estos
Reynos y Sucession de Nuestros Catholicos Monarchas.
Ioannes Perez. Faciebat Hispali; Anno: 1703. Aug.to 14.

PORTRAIT OF OUR LADY OF CANDELARIA, BY JUAN PEREZ, 1703.

In Mr. Grenville's copy of Juan Nuñez de la Peña, "Conquista" &c., 1676.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society by Donald Macbeth.

THE

GUANCHES OF TENERIFE

THE HOLY IMAGE OF OUR LADY OF CANDELARIA

AND THE

SPANISH CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT,

BY

THE FRIAR ALONSO DE ESPINOSA

OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS.

Translated and Edited, with Notes and an Introduction,

BY

SIR CLEMENTS MARKHAM, K.C.B.,

PRESIDENT OF THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY,

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY.

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TO

ETHEL TREW,

WHOSE INTEREST IN THE PEOPLE OF GUIMAR,

THE LAND OF OUR LADY OF CANDELARIA,

IS NOT CONFINED TO WORDS ALONE,

THIS VOLUME IS DEDICATED

BY HER FRIEND,

THE EDITOR.

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CONTENTS.

PAGE

Introduction i

Remnants of the Guanche Language . . . xx

The Nine Guanche Sentences xxv

The Origin and Miracles of the Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria 1

Table of the Chapters 3

Table of the Miracles in Book IV 5

Preface of Alonso de Espinosa 9

Report on the Present Condition of the Image of Our Lady of Candelaria. By Miss Ethel Trew . . . 137

Bibliography, in Four Parts :

PART I.—General History, etc., A.D. 1341-1907. Chronologically arranged, with the British Museum Press-marks . . 139

PART II.—Index of Authors, Editors, etc., A.D. 1341-1907 . 173

PART III.—Index of Titles 185

PART IV.—List of other Works, quoted by the Editor. Alphabetically arranged, with the British Museum Press-marks . 197

Index 203

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

PAGE

1. Map of Tenerife. By the Editor . . . i

2. Map of the Territory of Our Lady of Candelaria. By the Editor xxvi

3. Facsimile of the Title-page of *Del Origen y Milagros de la Santa Imagen de nuestra Señora de Candelaria*, by Alonso de Espinosa, *Sevilla*, 1594, from the Copy in the British Museum. By Donald Macbeth . . *to face* 1

4. Facsimile of the Colophon of the same edition. By Donald Macbeth . . . . . *to face* 136

5. Reduced facsimile of the Engraved Portrait of Nuestra Señora de Candelaria, by Juan Perez, 1703, inserted in Mr. Thomas Grenville's copy of *Conquista y Antiguedades de las Islas de la Gran Canaria*, by Juan Nuñez de la Peña, *Madrid*, 1676 (British Museum). By Donald Macbeth. *to face Title*

6. Reduced facsimile of a View of the Catacombs of the Guanches. From the British Museum copy of *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande*, vol ii, p. 40, Plate 4, *Leipzig*, 1748. 4°. By Donald Macbeth . *to face* 40

INTRODUCTION.

THE story of the discovery and settlement of the Canary Islands has long been considered by the Council as a proper and desirable subject for a volume or more in the Hakluyt Society's series. The enterprise of Jean de Bethencourt and his gallant companions is the opening chapter of the story, and I proposed its translation to our former President upwards of thirty-six years ago. Sir David Dundas cordially approved the suggestion, and lent me his fine copy of Bergeron's edition. My dear friend, schoolfellow, and messmate, the late Commodore James G. Goodenough, undertook to translate and edit, and we began to make researches together: work in which he took a deep interest, and for which his linguistic and other accomplishments specially fitted him. But in 1871 he was called away on important duties connected with relief work in France, and in 1873 he went out to take command of the Australian Station, closing a most valuable and meritorious career by an heroic death two

years afterwards. I secured an equally competent editor for Bethencourt in Mr. Major, of the British Museum, and the volume was issued to members in 1872.

The authors, Pierre Bontier and Jean le Verrier, who were Bethencourt's chaplains, knew how to tell their story. Mr. Major truly says that "there is much of picturesque beauty about the quaint old narrative of the adventures of the Sire de Bethencourt. We find ourselves in an atmosphere of romance, albeit the story is most essentially true. It lends the charm of chivalry to an expedition of discovery, undertaken at a period when chivalry was itself a reality."

Mr. Major, in his learned and interesting introduction, supplied us with an able *résumé* of all that was previously known of the Canary Islands. The allusion of Strabo is followed by the curious notices given by Plutarch in his *Life of Sertorius*, and by Pliny in his remarks on the career of King Juba. Mr. Major goes on to inform us of what can be gleaned from the Medicean portolano of 1351: of the acceptance of a Canarian kingly crown by Don Luis de la Cerda, the rightful King of Spain; and he gives all the information to be obtained from the works of Ça da Mosto and Azurara. Bethencourt himself, and his lieutenant, Gadifer de la Salle, took possession of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, the two most eastern islands. They made descents upon Canaria, but were driven back to their ships by the inhabitants. They visited the eastern islands of

Palma, Gomera, and Hierro, but made no attempt on Tenerife.

It remains, then, to present the members of the Hakluyt Society with an account of the island of Tenerife, the central island, and the most interesting and important of the group ; of its original inhabitants ; and of its conquest and settlement.

Bethencourt and his gallant adventurers, though they never landed on the island, must often have gazed with admiration at the glorious peak of Tenerife shooting up high above the clouds, and at the serrated ridges of Anaga. But the conquest was left for another people, and delayed for well-nigh another century. The brave Guanches had a respite.

Tenerife is an island of quite exceptional beauty and interest, gifted by Nature with every attraction that can please the eye, and by every advantage of climate, soil, and position. From its backbone of volcanic mountains the beautiful peak rises into the region of perpetual snow ; while from the grassy and forest-covered uplands lovely valleys and ravines slope down to the sea level. The gap, in which lies the city of Laguna, separates the mountain mass, culminating in the peak, from the wild and jagged mountains of Anaga to the north, and forms a natural highway from the eastern to the western side.

The various elevations ensure a great variety in the vegetation of the different zones, which has been well described by Humboldt in his personal narra-

tive. On the hills and in the valleys of the coast there is an African vegetation represented by date palms and bananas, by the famous dragon trees, the wonderful candelabra,[1] and several other euphorbias, and an infinity of wild flowers and ferns in the well-watered ravines. Higher up, on the lower slopes of the mountains, are the dark evergreen forests with shady groves, where the nymphs and shepherds of Theocritus might have strayed, and where streams, rippling over the rocks under cool shades, suggest the abodes of fauns and hamadryads.

Here flourish the Canarian arbutus,[2] laurel,[3] and laurestina[4] as tall trees, the Canarian holly,[5] venatico,[6] and myrtle,[7] with the shrubby cineraria, and the cistus, on which a bright red parasite grows. Ten or a dozen kinds of ferns hang over the streams, and derive moisture from their cool spray. Higher up the forests of mighty pines commence, called *tea* by the natives,[8] with the *Juniperus cedrus*, now nearly extinct, the fruit-bearing *mocan*;[9] and a rich undergrowth of broom, and of *escabon*[10] and *retama*,[11] yielding never-failing supplies of firewood. Higher still are the grass lands up to the verge of the eternal snow, while a tiny violet[12] flourishes at

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1 Cardon, Euphorbia Canariensis.
2 Arbutus Canariensis, Sp. *madroño*.
3 Laurus Canariensis.
4 Viburnum rigidum.
5 Ilex Canariensis, sp.
6 Persea Indica.
7 Myrica Faya.
8 Pinus Canariensis.
9 Vionea mocanero.
10 Cytisus proliferus.
11 Cytisus fragrans.
12 Viola cheiranthifolia.

the summit of the peak. In the course of centuries the plant life of Tenerife had acquired special characteristics, combined with remarkable strength and vigour of growth.

A peculiar race of men had enjoyed the delights of this favoured island for a long course of centuries. The Guanches derived their name from *Guan*, a son, and *Chenerfe*, the name of Tenerife, a contraction of *Guanchenerfe*. Their ancestors came, no doubt, from the neighbouring African coast of Mauritania, but long ages before that country was overrun by invaders of Arab or Negro blood. Mauritania was then inhabited by the same ancient Iberian race which once covered all Western Europe: a people, fair, tall, and strong; a people of many virtues and of few vices. An early Spanish writer[1] says of the Guanches that "they were virtuous, honest, and brave, and the finest qualities of humanity were found united in them; to wit, magnanimity, skill, courage, athletic powers, strength of soul and of body, pride of character, nobleness of demeanour, a smiling physiognomy, an intelligent mind, and patriotic devotedness."

The question that presented itself, was the selection of the best account of these people, of their subjugation, and of the Spanish settlement. There was no contemporary account; no narrative by an honest-minded old soldier who appreciated the merits of his adversaries, such as Bernal Diaz, who

---

[1] Viana (1604).

wrote of the Mexicans, and Cieza de Leon, who wrote of the Peruvians. Nigh upon a century passed away before any story of Tenerife was written. The only course was to choose the earliest narrative, the one which gives the best account of the Guanches, nearest to the time before the conquest. This is the chief thing ; for these interesting people are a lost race, with scarce any remains even of their language. There were no faithful missionaries to study the native idioms, as was the case in the Spanish Indies. Of secondary importance would be the most authentic account of the Spanish conquest and settlement.

There are only three authors who can be considered original in any sense. The earliest is the good friar Alonso de Espinosa, who was nearest to the time, and has given the earliest account of the Guanches. He wrote in 1580-90. The next is the bachelor Antonio de Viana, a native of the island, who wrote of the early history of Tenerife in verse, in 1604. His poetical tendencies render him unreliable as an authority ; but at the same time he has recorded some interesting traditions, and seven out of the ten Guanche sentences that have been preserved. The third author is Friar Juan de Abreu de Galindo, a Franciscan from Andalusia, who was a resident in the island of Palma, and wrote in 1632. He copied largely from Espinosa in his account of the Guanches ; his story of the conquest is not nearly so detailed as that of the earlier writer, and his work has already been translated into English

by Glas. The licentiate Juan Nuñez de la Peña may, perhaps, be included among the early writers. He, like Viana, was a native of Laguna, in the island of Tenerife. But his work, *Antiguedades de las Canarias*, was not published until 1676.

Of these authors, the work of Espinosa has, after careful consideration, been selected for translation as, on the whole, the best story of the Guanches and their subjugation.

We first hear of Espinosa in Central America, where he had embraced a religious life, and become a Dominican preaching friar. Strange news brought him to Tenerife. A holy image of the Virgin and Child had been among the Guanches for nearly a century before the conquest. Its arrival was a mystery, but the fame of its miracles spread far and wide, and at length reached the ears of the newly-ordained friar in far-off Guatemala. It made a deep impression on his mind; he was inspired with zeal for the holy image, and before long he found himself on the island of Tenerife, a member of the fraternity which had possession of the image, and a zealous preacher at the chapel of Our Lady of Candelaria, as the image was called. Espinosa was an accomplished scholar for his time and profession; he would not allow his energies to evaporate in mere preaching, and he resolved to make researches, and to write a history that should form a permanent record of his beloved image and its miracles.

This, then, is the primary object of his work.

The great feature of the history of the image was its arrival among the heathens, long before their conversion to Christianity. It was quite unique in the history of holy images. Espinosa was much struck by this entirely exceptional circumstance, and it led him to make a close investigation into all that concerned the aboriginal inhabitants. It is to this broad view of the matter taken by Espinosa that we owe the earliest and most reliable account of the Guanches. He had special advantages, in addition to that of being first in the field. The image arrived on the eastern shore of the island in the territory of the Mencey[1] of Guimar, and there its shrine has always been. It so happened, through the influence of the image, as Espinosa believed, that the Mencey of Guimar was friendly to the Spaniards from the very first, and that there was no resistance and no devastation. Consequently, it was in the Guimar territory that the Guanche population remained undisturbed at first, and here their language, manners, and customs lingered longest. Espinosa lived among these people at Candelaria, and thus had special advantages in collecting information.

[1] Translated "king" by the Spaniards. There was originally a Mencey of the whole island, who divided his territory among his nine sons. The eldest became Mencey of Taoro (Orotava), and appears to have been overlord. In the north was the Mencey of Anaga; on the north-east side was he of Tegueste; on the east was Guimar; south-east, Abona; and in the south, Adexe. On the western side were the Mencey of Tacaronte, and those of Taoro, Icod, and Daute in the valleys facing north. *See* the Map.

The good friar devotes the first book of his work to the Guanches. He begins by describing the island, its early history, its fertility, and other notable things concerning it. He then enters upon the story of its inhabitants, giving accounts of their physical and mental condition, of their customs, food and dress, marriages, training for war, government, and mode of interment; and ending with a notice of the distinguished men who have belonged to the Guanche race.

The second book contains a detailed history of the holy image of our Lady of Candelaria, from its first arrival down to Espinosa's own time. The story is very extraordinary in itself, and in the course of the narrative there is further information respecting the Guanche people, their laws and customs.

Espinosa devotes his third book to the invasion of Tenerife by the Spaniards. In it is described the heroic resistance of the Guanches, during which the noble qualities of the race are brought out; and it is shown that their subjugation was due to pestilence, and not to the prowess of the Spaniards. The concluding chapters of this book give an account of the settlement of the island by the invaders, and of the proceedings which established the right of the friars-preachers to the holy image. Espinosa speaks out as boldly as Las Casas on the question of the right claimed by the Spaniards to invade and conquer the territories of heathen nations. He declares that, both as regards divine and human

right, these wars were unjust, and without any reason to support them. The natives, he argues, had done no wrong to the Spaniards, had not taken their lands, nor had they gone beyond their own frontier to invade and molest their neighbours. If it is urged that the Spaniards brought the Gospel, Espinosa replies that this should have been done by admonition and preaching, not by drum and banner ; by persuasion, not by force.

The fourth book contains a list of sixty healing and other miracles performed by the image. As it gives no information of any interest, it has not been translated. The miracles are enumerated in the Table of Contents.

The work of Fray Alonso de Espinosa was first published at Seville in 1594. A reprint appeared at Santa Cruz in 1848, as one of the "Biblioteca Isleña" Series.

The fame of the image of Our Lady of Candelaria, enhanced by the zealous efforts of Espinosa, continued to be maintained through the centuries, and has not faded in our own time. Glas says that, in his time, she was held in as much reverence as the image of the great goddess Diana was at Ephesus ; and the chapel was endowed with so many ornaments that it is the richest place in all the seven islands. The festival, on August 15th, is attended by many devotees from all the islands, and there is another "romeria" on February 2nd. But a great calamity overtook the image in November 1826. In a tremendous storm on the 8th a flood came

down from the mountains, and swept the holy image into the sea. It was irretrievably lost, after having been an object of devout worship for more than four centuries. Part of the Dominican monastery was also destroyed by the flood. A new image was made in imitation, solemnly blessed by the Pope, and set up on the same site, in a chapel near the sea-shore, at Candelaria. But it is not the same thing, though pilgrims continue to flock to the little village on the beach, and the festival of Our Lady of Candelaria is still the most important throughout the Canary Islands.

The four earliest works on the Guanches and their subjugation have already been referred to. The rest can only be looked upon as compilations. Those of Father José de Sosa, published in 1675, and reprinted in the "Biblioteca Isleña" Series at Santa Cruz in 1848; and of Pedro Agustin de Castillo, which appeared in 1709, and was also reprinted in the "Biblioteca Isleña," are of little value. This is not the case with the work of our countryman, George Glas, which is a production of considerable merit.

Glas was educated for a physician, but went to sea, and eventually became a ship's captain. He was an intelligent observer, with some literary and scientific attainments. On his first arrival at Tenerife, in the middle of the eighteenth century, he appears to have been suspected as a spy, and was even imprisoned for some time. But eventually he established himself on the island, and got on so

well that he sent for his wife and daughter to join him. His work consisted of a fairly good translation of Abreu de Galindo; followed by a description of each of the Canary Islands by Glas himself. He tells us that the manuscript remained in the island of Palma until, a few years before Glas wrote, when it was sent as a present to the Bishop in Canaria. Glas succeeded in obtaining a copy, and his translation forms the first 165 pages of his book. The other 200 pages are occupied with his own account of the islands, 28 being devoted to Tenerife. The author gives some extracts respecting the image of Candelaria from the work of Espinosa, and the explanation of the lettering on the image by Argote de Molina. He collected vocabularies of the dialects of the different islands, and his work also contains descriptions of the towns and villages, and an account of his ascent of the peak, as well as some sailing directions.

After a residence of some years he embarked on board an English vessel at the port of Orotava, with his wife and daughter, intending to return home. A few days after they sailed, a mutiny broke out. Glas ran on deck, and was instantly stabbed and thrown overboard. His wife and daughter came up directly afterwards. Clinging to each other they begged for life, but were also thrown into the sea. The murderers abandoned the ship off Waterford and came on shore, but they were apprehended and hanged at Dublin.

The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the

Canary Islands, with a Description of the Islands, and the Modern History of the Inhabitants, by George Glas, was published in London in 1764; a quarto volume of 368 pages. Another edition, with an account of the author's life and tragical end, in two volumes, appeared in Dublin in 1767.

Eight years after the publication of Glas, the great work of Archdeacon Viero y Clavijo appeared in Madrid in 1774—*Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas da Canaria.* It was an admirable work at the time, but it is far from being exhaustive.

Then followed the monumental *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canariens*, by S. Berthelot and Barker Webb (Paris, 1839-46), in ten folio volumes and an atlas of plates.

An equally monumental and, from a historical point of view, far more exhaustive work was commenced by Dr. Don Gregorio Chil y Naranjo—*Estudios Historicos, Climatologicos y Patalogicos de las Islas Canarias* (Las Palmas, 1876-79, folio), but only two volumes appeared out of twelve that were projected, owing to the premature death of the author. These two volumes are exceedingly valuable. They contain by far the best and most complete early history of the Canaries, down to the time of Bethencourt. Dr. Chil's plan is to give the views of every writer that preceded him on each important point as it arises, with the comparative value of his authorities. His volumes contain a complete account of the Guanches, and a list of words and place-names, with the authority for each.

Dr. Chil put a high value on the manuscript history of the Canaries, written in 1694 by Dr. Tomas Arias Marin y Cubas, a native of Telde in Canaria.

Don Agustin Millares, of Las Palmas, has written a *Historia de las Islas Canarias* in twelve volumes (Las Palmas, 1893-95).

Tenerife has been very fortunate in its scientific visitors. Lyall described its rocks and their origin in his *Principles of Geology*.[1] Humboldt, during his visit in 1797, investigated its botany, and gave the results of his observations in his charming narrative.[2] This was followed by the great work of Berthelot, and the fascinating sketch of Sir Charles Bunbury.[3] Later, Sir D. Morris has afforded aid to the student by the publication of his *Plants and Gardens of the Canary Islands*;[4] and a more instructed enquirer can consult the botanical papers of Drs. Christ and F. Sauer.[5] Nor should the important monograph of Dr. G. V. Perez be omitted, in enumerating the botanical writers on Tenerife. His description of the "Tagasaste" shrub (*Cytisus proliferus var.*) as a

[1] Vol. ii, ch. xli (1868).

[2] *Personal Narrative*, I, pp. 29-125 (Bohn, 1852).

[3] *Journal of the Linnean Society* (Bot.) I, (1856).

[4] *Journal of the Horticultural Society* (14th May, 1895, p. 62).

[5] Engler's *Jahrbücher*, xii, pp. 10-14, contains his special account of the Canary species of Euphorbia.

Engler's *Jahrbücher*, vi, pp. 458-526 (1888), "Vegetation und Flora der Canarischen Inseln."

Engler's *Jahrbücher*, ix, pp. 86-172 (1888), "Spicilegium Canariense." *Catalogus Plantarum in Canariensibus Insulis sponte et sub sponte crescentium* (1880).

valuable source of food for cattle, deserves the attention of agriculturalists far beyond the limits of Tenerife.[1]

The island has been equally fortunate in ornithologists, such as Captain Savile G. Reid,[2] Canon Tristram,[3] and Mr. Meade Waldo,[4] who have described its birds. The entomology of Tenerife has received close attention from Mr. White, of Guimar.

The conquest of Tenerife caused the destruction of the noble race which had inhabited the island for so many centuries. The desolating war, followed by an awful pestilence, almost exterminated the Guanches. Settlers poured in from Spain, and there was a mixed race formed, with a strong Guanche element, shown in the industry, honesty, and good disposition of the people of Tenerife. The greatest amount of Guanche blood is to be found in the territory of Guimar, and, further south, in Adexe. The indefatigable industry of the people is most striking. In the beginning of the last century there were extensive vineyards, and the

[1] "*La Tagasaste*, 'fourrage important,' publie sous la direction de George V. Perez" (Paris, 1892).

[2] *Ibis*, 1887, pp. 424-35, Birds of Tenerife.
1888, pp. 73-83, Birds of Tenerife.

[3] *Ibis*, 1889, p. 13, Grand Canaria.
1890, p. 67, Island of Palma.

[4] *Ibis*, Birds of the Canary Islands in general.
1887, pp. 1-13, and p. 503.
1890, p. 429, Hierro and Lanzarote.
1893, pp. 155-207, a descriptive list.

Canary wine was highly prized in Europe. When a disease brought ruin, the vine was promptly succeeded by the cochineal industry, from about 1826 to 1874. In some years the yield was worth a good deal over half a million. The discovery of aniline dyes again brought ruin. Undaunted, the descendants of the Guanche race turned to other industries; and now their potatoes, tomatoes, and bananas take the place of cochineal. These intelligent and hardworking people would always labour with all their might. The face of the country itself tells their story. On the bright green pastures in the uplands round Laguna the flocks and herds tell of their watchful care. In the lovely vale of Orotava its loveliness is enhanced by the irrigation, the planting, and cultivation of the people. But their indefatigable labour is, perhaps, more striking on the eastern side, at Guimar, the land of Our Lady of Candelaria, for here the climate is less favourable.

At Guimar and Arafo the perennial springs in the recesses of the stupendous ravines of Badajos, Rio, and Añavingo are made to minister to the needs of the people. An admirable system of irrigation has been organised for centuries, and is still well managed, thanks to the knowledge and unceasing vigilance of my friend, Maximo Gomez. The channels are carried from one level to another, are regulated by tanks, and conducted over ravines by aqueducts, so that there is a smiling expanse of verdure from the lofty heights nearly to the sea-shore.

Gazing aloft up the mountain slopes, we are entranced by the beauty of the scenery, at the same time that we are filled with astonishment at the marvellous industry of the people. Terrace after terrace, with walls well and carefully built, and perfectly level spaces for sowing and planting, rise one above the other up the mountain sides in almost endless succession, until the eye at length reaches the pine forests, and above them the bare ridges of the mountains. We are too close under the mighty peak for it to be visible, but occasionally, when the sea is quite smooth between Tenerife and Canaria, its shadow may be seen on the blue surface of the water.

The beauty of Guimar scenery is much enhanced by the terraced cultivation, the work of the inhabitants. We know them as an honest, industrious, obliging, courteous, and warm-hearted people, and it is natural that we should desire to know as much as possible of their Guanche ancestry. But there is so little to supplement the account given by Espinosa. The people still use the numerous caves excavated in the face of the rocks for store-rooms and cow- or goat-houses, and occasionally as their own dwellings. The burial caves, usually very inaccessible, have been explored, and some skeletons and skulls have been collected. There was a small museum at Tacaronte of Guanche mummies and pottery, but it has recently been sold, and its contents scattered. Don Ramon Gomez, the chemist and antiquary of Puerto Orotava, has a collection of Guanche skulls. One of them has a hole in the left parietal, showing

that there had been a trepanning operation during life, and that the patient survived. This proves that the science of surgery had made some advance among these people, which is very interesting. But we know so little.

The greatest loss of all is caused by the neglect of the Spanish priests to make grammars and vocabularies of the language, as was done in South America. Espinosa, Galindo, and Viana have preserved a few words and nine sentences; that is all. Dr. Chil has collected and classified them. But, as regards the Guanche language, we are most indebted to the Marquis of Bute, who, during a winter at Orotava, studied the words that have been preserved with great care, using Dr. Chil's work for the purpose.[1] He hoped to make out some signs of the grammatical construction. He worked with great diligence. He was supplied with forty words by Dr. Claudio Marrero, the priest of the church of the Conception at Laguna, twenty of them being place-names. He also obtained the services of Dr. de Gray Birch (late of the British Museum), to continue his search for Guanche words. The results were the reception from Don Manuel Ossuna of eighty-six words, chiefly place-names, including those of four sepulchral caves, and several names of plants. A collection of original manuscripts recording the

[1] *On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife.* Paper read to the Anthropological Section of the British Association in 1891. Afterwards published by J. Masters and Co., 78, New Bond Street. Pamphlet, pp. 54.

proceedings of the Holy Office of the Canary Islands from 1499 to 1693 was purchased, in the hope that they might throw some light on the subject. But they contained no information—merely records of Inquisitorial cruelty and folly.[1]

Lord Bute had special intellectual gifts which fitted him for the task he had undertaken, and the result has been a very able essay on the language. Some of his conclusions respecting the grammatical construction are almost certainly correct, such as the decision that ACH, CH, AC was the definite article. Others are highly probable.

I conclude this Introduction with a revised list of the Guanche words that have been preserved, ending with the nine sentences recorded by Espinosa and Viana.

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[1] *Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts*, formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Canary Islands, purchased by the Marquis of Bute. Edited by W. de Gray Birch. 2 vols., 8vo. Blackwood, 1903.

REMNANTS
OF THE
GUANCHE LANGUAGE.

In this list the names of Espinosa, Galindo, and Viana are given when the words are on their authority. Words from the sentences with unknown or doubtful meanings are in Italics. Terminations and prefixes, denoting grammatical construction, are conjectural, suggested by the Marquis of Bute.

Abcana	(Sentence 1, *Espinosa*).
Abcanabac	Possibly the dog apparition.
Ac. Ach. T. Ta.	Definite article.
Acaman	The Sun-God (*Viana*).
Ac gueray xerax	"Life of the sky" (*Galindo*); Divine title of the Sun.
Achahuerahan	God (*Espinosa*).
Achahu canac	God.
Achaman	The Sun-God (*Galindo*).
Achicaxna	Villager. Servant; same as *Zahaña* (*Bute*).
Achguaya xerax	"Spirit of the sky" (*Espinosa*).
Achi cuca (see *Cuca*).	
Achici quiso (see *Cichiciquiso*)	Esquire (*Espinosa*).
Achimayec	The mother (*Espinosa, Galindo*).
Achimencey	Nobleman.
Achineche (or Chenerfe)	Tenerife.
Achit	Live thou (Sentence 7).
Achoran	God (*Espinosa, Galindo, Viana*).
Achu-canac	Name of an apparition like a large dog (*Galindo*).
Acoron (see *Yacoron*).	
Adara	Mountain (?).

Afaro	Grain.
Agonec	I swear (Sentences 3, 4).
Aguere	A lake (*Espinosa*).
Ahico	Leathern dress.
Ahof	Milk (*Galindo*).
Ahorer	Barley meal roasted with butter and milk (*Galindo*).
Alzanxiquian	(Sentence 1.)
Amen	Sun (*Galindo*).
Amen a coran	Sun-God (*Viana*).
An. En. N.	Plural form.
Ana	Sheep.
Anapa	Spear carried before the king (*Espinosa*).
Ar	Behold! (*Galindo*)
Ara	Goat (*Galindo*).
Aran	A farm.
At (for Ac).	
Ataman	Sky (*Galindo*).
At guaycha fura taman	"Sun-Spirit of the mountains" (*Galindo*).
Atmayec guayai xiraxi	"Mother of the Spirit of the Sky" (*Galindo*).
Axo or Xayo	Deceased. A mummy (*Espinosa*).
Banot	Spear (*Espinosa*).
Ben (see Guan).	
Benesmen	Sowing time (*Galindo*).
Benichen Bentinerfe Bencheni	Son of Tenerife or Chinerfa (Tenerife).
Bicararo	"*Canaria campanulata.*"
Cabuco	Goat fold.
Cancha	Dog.
Caxna (see Achicaxna).	
Cel	Moon.
Chacarquen	Honey from the *Mocan* (*Galindo*, *Espinosa*).
Chaco (or *Chaso*)	(Sentence 4.)

Chafa	Lofty mountain ridge.
Chafaña . . .	Toasted grain.
Chamato . . .	Woman (*Galindo*).
Chenerfe . . .	Tenerife.
Cheyde (see Teyde).	
Chonga (see Chunga).	
Chucar	Spare him (Sentence 9).
Chunga. . . .	(Sentence 8.)
Cichiciquizo (see Achici quiso).	
Coran	Man (*Galindo*).
Coraja	Red owl.
Cuca	Son of divorced people.
Cucaha . . .	Daughter of divorced people.
Dar Dir . . .	Native born (Sentence 8).
E	The ablative.
E-c E-g . . .	I—first person.
E-chay . . .	Imperative (Sentence 8).
E-cheyde. Teyde . .	Name of the peak; Ech or T., the article; Root, yda (Ida).
Efiai	(Sentence 7.)
En Han . . .	Plural forms?
Escabon . . .	*Cytisus proliferus.*
Era. Iera . . .	Your.
Fahet (see *Sahec*) . .	(Sentence 9.)
Fayra. Fura . . .	Round stone in a place of worship.
Gerage (see Xeraxi) . .	(Sentence 5.)
Gofio	Porridge, Chief Food of the people (*Espinosa*, *Galindo*).
Guayota . . .	Spirit of evil; lived in the peak; "Guaya"—spirit; To—mighty (*Espinosa*).
Guan (see Ben) . .	Son.
Guañac . . .	The people. The State.
Guanoth . . .	The people. The State (*Viana*).
Guanamana . . .	Wizard. Son of "Aman."
Guanche . . .	Contraction of Guanchinerfe, "Son of Tenerife."

Guarirari . . . "Indweller of the universe" (*Galindo*).
Guaya . . . . Spirit, Life (Sentence 8).
Guijon. Guyon . . A ship, plural in *n*—Ships.
Guirre . . . . Vulture.

Ha . . . . Feminine termination.
Hacichei . . . Beans, Vetches (*Galindo*).
Habec . . . (Sentence 5.)
Hac . . . . (Sentence 1.)
Han . . . . (Sentence 8.)
Hari . . . . Multitude, People.
Harimaguada . . . Vestal? Baptizer.
Haro Haña? . . . Fold.
Haya . . . . Preterite (Sentence 8).
Hecirmas. Huernas . . Leather stockings.
Harco (see Xarco).
Hirahi (see Xerax).
Hu . . . . A pre-formative indicating greatness or holiness.

I . . . . Genitive, 2nd person.
I-do . . . . (Sentence 8.)
I-guaya (see Guaya).
In. At . . . Preposition and article (Sentences 3, 4, 5).
Jarco . . . . Mummy.

Machet . . . (Sentence 9.)
Maguada. Magath . . Vestal. Maid.
Manja. Maja . . . Landing-place.
Manse . . . . Shore.
Mayec . . . . Mother.
Mencey . . . Lord (*Espinosa*).
Mencayto . . . "Most High." Title of God.
Mocan . . . . *Visnea mocanera.*
Morangana . . . Strawberries.

N-amet . . . The bone.
N-azet . . . . Become (Sentences 7, 9).
No. Na . . . Conjunction (Sentence 9).
Nun . . . . By (Sentence 5).

O-che . . . . Melted butter (*Galindo*).
Ofiac . . . . As? (see Efiai).

Petut . . . . Father? (Sentence 8).

Quebehi . . . Highness.

Relac . - . . Who? (Sentence 9).
Reste . . . . Protection (Sentences 5, 6, 7).
Rimo . . . . Cripple.

Sabagua, Sahaña } for Zahaña.

Sahec . . . . (Sentence 3.)
Sahur . . . . (Sentence 5.)
Samet. Sanec . . . Brother.
Sote . . . . Under (Sentence 9).

T . . . . Thou. Thy.
Th . . . . They.
Ta. To . . . Superlative.
Tan. Ta . . . Preterite.
Tabayba . . . *Euphorbia.*
Tabona . . . Obsidian knife.
Tagasaste . . . *Cytisus proliferus (var.).*
Taginaste . . . *Echium strictum.*
Tagorar . . . Assembly (*Espinosa*). The root of Taoro and Orotava.
Tamarco . . . Coat of skins (*Espinosa*).
Tanaga . . . He gave up (Sentence 8).
Tara . . . . Barley (*Galindo*).
Taraire. Tagaire . . Lofty ridge.
Tea . . . . Pine tree (*Espinosa*).
Teyde . . . . The peak.

Van (for Guan).

Xarco . . . . Shoe.
Xerax . . . . Sky.
Yacoron . . . O God (Sentence 4).
Yoya . . . . Juice of Mocan (*Espinosa*).

Zahaña . . . Vassal.
Zahori . . . . Foreteller of events (*Espinosa*).
Zucasa . . . . Daughter (*Galindo*).
Zonfa . . . . Navel.

THE NINE GUANCHE SENTENCES.

Sentence 1.

Alzaxiquian abcana hax xerax . . *Espinosa*
Quian for Guan (son of) (perhaps dog apparition) in the sky.
Zaxi for Sani (brother).

Sentence 2.

Zahañat Guayohec . . . *Viana.*
Thy vassal. I live (exist).

Sentence 3.

Agonec Acoron in at Zahaña guanac reste Mencey *Viana*
I swear O God to the vassals of the State a protecting Lord.

Sentence 4.

Agoñe Yacoron in at Zahaña chaso namet . *Espinosa.*
I swear O God to the vassals on the bone.[1]

Sentence 5.

Achoron nun habec sahagua reste guagnat sahur
O God the vassals protection of the state
(should be Zahaña).
banot gerage sote . . *Viana.*
spear sky under.
(for xerax)

Sentence 6.

Achit guanoth Mencey reste Bencom *Viana.*
Live thou the State's Lord and protector. O Bencom.

Sentence 7.

Guaya echey efiai nasethe sahaña . *Viana.*
Life let live so as to become a vassal.

[1] See p. 37.

Sentence 8.

Tanaga guayoch Archimencey no haya dir han
Yielded his soul the Noble and native born
ido sahec chunga pētut . . *Viana.*
fatherless.

Sentence 9.

Chucar guayoc Archimencey reste Bencom sanec
Spare the life of the noble protector Bencom's brother,
van der relac machet Zahaña . *Viana.*
native born who becomes your vassal.

C.R. Markham Del. 1906

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DEL ORIGEN
Y MILAGROS DE LA
Santa Imagen de nueſtra Señora de Candelaria, que aparecio en la Isla de Tenerife, con la deſcripcion de eſta Isla.

Compueſto por el Padre Fray Alonſo de Eſpinoſa de la Orden de Predicadores, y Predicador de ella.

CON PRIVILEGIO.
Impreſſo en Seuilla en caſa de Iuan de Leõ.
Año de 1594.
Acoſta de Fernando Mexia mercader de libros.

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THE ORIGIN AND MIRACLES

OF

The Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria,

WHICH APPEARED IN

THE ISLAND OF TENERIFE;

WITH

A DESCRIPTION OF THAT ISLAND.

Composed by

THE FATHER FRIAR ALONSO DE ESPINOSA

OF THE

ORDER OF PREACHERS

AND

PREACHER OF CANDELARIA.

SEVILLE, 1594.

CONTENTS.

PAGE

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR . . . 9

TABLE OF THE CHAPTERS.

BOOK I.

CHAP.

I. Description of the Island of Tenerife and its antiquity . 19
II. Fertility of the Island 22
III. Of other notable things respecting the Island . . 25
IV. Of the people who inhabited the Island in former times . 26
V. Of some customs of the natives . . . 30
VI. Of their dress, and of the food they ate . . 31
VII. Of their agriculture ; their marriages . . . 34
VIII. Of the Lords in this Island : their bounds, election, and wars 36
IX. Of their method of interment . . . 40
X. Of the distinguished men belonging to this race . 41

BOOK II.

I. Of the excellencies of our Lady of Candelaria . . 45
II. Of the date of the appearance of this holy relic . . 46
III. How the shepherds gave notice to the Lord of Guimar of what they had found 49
IV. Of the origin of this holy relic of Candelaria . . 51
V. How the Lord of Guimar brought the holy image to his house 52
VI. How the Lord of Guimar informed the neighbouring Lords of what had appeared in his territory . . 53
VII. How the natives came to know who the holy image was 56
VIII. How they removed the Holy Image to the cave of San Blas 58
IX. Of the processions which the Angels formed in those times on the beach of Candelaria . . . 59
X. Of the wax that appeared, and was found in loaves, on this Island 61

CHAP. PAGE

XI. How the Christians who were in Lanzarote had notice of this holy image and stole it . . 64
XII. How the holy image did wish to be in Fuerteventura, until they returned and took it back to its cave . 67
XIII. Of the name, height, colours, and lettering of the holy image of Candelaria . . . 70
XIV. Of some other images which are said to have appeared on this Island 74
XV. Of a very highly valued crucifix which is in this Island . 76

Book III.

I. Of the discovery of this Island of Tenerife . . 81
II. How the King Don Fernando and the Queen Doña Isabel bought the Islands of Canary, Tenerife and Palma . 84
III. Of some entries the Spaniards made into this Island before the arrival of Alonso de Lugo . . 85
IV. Of the first arrival of Alonso de Lugo . . 87
V. Of the battle between the Spaniards and the Guanches at Centejo, and of the heavy losses of the Spaniards . 90
VI. How those who escaped from the rout went to Santa Cruz 94
VII. Of the second entry which the Spaniards under Alonzo de Lugo made into the Island . . . 98
VIII. Of the battle between the Spaniards and Guanches at Laguna 101
IX. Of some other battles and encounters until the Island was conquered 104
X. How the Spaniards settled in the Island and of the first magistrates 108
XI. Of some of the conquerors who served in the conquest of this Island 111
XII. Of the division that was made of the land and of the waters, and of the towns that were founded . . 116
XIII. Of the present state of this commonwealth and of its magistrates 120
XIV. How the holy image of Candelaria was taken from the cave of San Blas, where it was, to the house where it now is 121
XV. How this holy image of Candelaria became the property of the Friars Preachers 124
XVI. Of the grant of the oratory of Our Lady of Candelaria to the Friars Preachers 127
XVII. How certain clergymen turned the Friars out of the house of Our Lady, and how possession was restored to them 128

Table of the Miracles in Book IV.

MIRACLE

I. How Our Lord restored a drowned child to life through the holy image of Candelaria.

II. How a deaf and dumb Jewess possessed of a devil was cured by Our Lady of Candelaria, at Laguna.

III. How a man on whom a rock had fallen had his life saved by invoking the holy image, at Santa Cruz.

IV. How a Moorish girl, whose hand and arm were injured, was made whole.

V. How one whose face was hideously distorted had his mouth put right and was healed, at Laguna.

VI. How another with a wounded leg was healed by going on pilgrimage to Candelaria.

VII. Of a sick man who was healed at Laguna.

VIII. Of another made whole by Our Lady.

IX. Of another who was healed by anointing himself with the oil in the lamp before the Virgin.

X. Of another who was healed by the same oil at Garachico.

XI. Of many sick people cured by the oil at Icod de los Vinos

XII. A woman anointed with the oil and cured at Laguna.

XIII. A man cured of the gout by the oil, who had recently arrived from Spain.

XIV. A man cured of a liver complaint by the oil at Laguna.

XV. How Our Lady of Candelaria delivered a ship from her enemies, bound for the Indies.

XVI. How Our Lady of Candelaria delivered a Basque ship from her enemies.

XVII. How a Portuguese ship captured by the French was set free by Our Lady of Candelaria.

XVIII. Of another ship that was set free.

XIX. Of a bark out of her course guided into port by Our Lady of Candelaria.

XX. Another ship saved.

XXI. How a boat full of shipwrecked men was brought safely to the beach of Candelaria.

XXII. How the holy image could change the complexion of its face.

XXIII. Of the processions seen on the beach of Candelaria with the holy image in them.

XXIV. How Our Lady was invoked in times of dearth and want of rain.

XXV. How a man falling from a rock was not hurt.

MIRACLE

XXVI. A Moor, seeing the holy image of Candelaria, was converted and baptized at Realejo.

XXVII. The same thing happened to a brother of the above.

XXVIII. How one suffering from stone was made whole at Laguna.

XXIX. How some merchants saved their property through this image.

XXX. How a man was cured of a great wen.

XXXI. How a woman at Daute, who had lost her son for a long time, found him at Candelaria.

XXXII. How one who, fighting with Frenchmen, had received many wounds, was cured.

XXXIII. Of a cripple who was cured at Garachico.

XXXIV. Of a ship that was saved in a great tempest.

XXXV. Of a dumb man who recovered his speech.

XXXVI. One who had a broken rib was cured by the oil.

XXXVII. Of one who was cured after breaking his spine at Realejo.

XXXVIII. Of one whose face and nose were eaten away cured by the oil.

XXXIX. How Our Lady of Candelaria cured a woman of fever and plague, a native of Lanzarote.

XL. How the oil cured a man who had a crippled arm.

XLI. How Our Lady of Candelaria saved a man on whom the furniture of a house had fallen.

XLII. How a man was cured of a boil.

XLIII. A child who had been crushed was cured by Our Lady of Candelaria.

XLIV. Our Lady of Candelaria gave sight to a man who was blind, at Santa Cruz.

XLV. A woman cured of heart disease.

XLVI. Our Lady cured a cripple.

XLVII. Another cure.

XLVIII. A sailor brought to life again at Garachico.

XLIX. A child cured of fever at Palma.

L. A child cured of heart disease.

LI. One who had diseasein the legs and kidneys made whole, at Fuerteventura.

LII. A child believed to be dead arose and was well.

LIII. A cripple cured by intercession of Our Lady of Candelaria, at Palma.

LIV. A daughter of the Adelantado healed, who had diseased feet and hands, on her mother promising the girl's weight in wax.

MIRACLE

LV. A woman who suffered a year and a-half from boils cured by Our Lady of Candelaria.

LVI. How Our Lady of Candelaria succoured some men who were thrown into the sea at Gomera.

LVII. Of what Our Lady of Candelaria did for a Franciscan who was devoted to her, in Fuerteventura.

LVIII. How Our Lady of Candelaria appeared to divers.

LIX. How the arm of a Guanche was crippled, who wanted to throw something at the holy image.

LX. How a Guanche's finger was cut off who wanted to cut off a finger of the holy image.

LXI. How both these Guanches were made whole.

LXII. Of the processions seen by the Guanches, and of the wax which appeared.

LXIII. How the holy image turned its face to the wall at Fuerteventura because it did not want to stay there.

LXIV. How although the holy image was taken to Fuerteventura, it was never absent from its cave in Tenerife.

LXV. How, Our Lord punished those who sawed off a piece of the pedestal of the holy image of Candelaria.

PREFACE OF THE AUTHOR.

I CANNOT help lamenting, with good reason, the want of care that our predecessors have shown in not having made any record of an event so admirable and marvellous as the appearance and origin of the holy image of Candelaria, and of the numerous miracles it has worked and works every day for those who invoke it, and commend themselves to it with devotion. I know not what excuse can be made for this neglect, unless it be that the thing is so established and generally received in the Canary Islands; the divinity (it may be so termed) of this holy relic and its miracles so common, that not only has there been no curious person who would undertake to write a history of it that the memory might be preserved for new-comers; but none to arouse the souls, and advocate devotion to this Our Lady; so that there has been a loss of respect, devotion, and memory of her, as if she was so ordinary as to be held cheap, and that her deeds may be forgotten. Although some have desired to take this trouble, and have written a few leaves, they have remained unknown because the proper arrangements were not made. Nor did they continue their work to the end, fearing perhaps that they could not finish it, from there being no writings they could use, and from want of the

spirit of research, not keeping in memory the events worthy to be recorded. My care has arisen from their neglect, and from my desire to complete the memorial. Obedience impels and orders me, making me more daring to attempt what is not a small undertaking.

It is clear that, owing to the absence of writings, I had to go from one to another, that they might repeat to me the words of the dead, make present to me the things that were passed, and bring back to the light of memory what was lost in the darkness of oblivion. Many years before, I had news of this sacred image when I was in remote parts of the Indies. I was in the province of Guatemala, where I took upon me the habit of religion. I heard accounts of her wonderful works, and from that time I had a strong desire to see her; which did not rest until God was served by my arrival in this island of Tenerife; for He complies with pious wishes.

Thus I satisfied my desire, not without great joy and admiration to see that the reality was much more, without comparison, than the fame which had reached me. Moved, I know not by what spirit, I desired to inform myself from the very beginning concerning the origin of that holy relic. It gave me no small concern to find that there was nothing written which could satisfy me. Though I determined to institute enquiries, and went to work, I did not then bring anything to light, because I did not find favour with my superiors. But as this work (or to put it better, rest being honourable) was kept by God to be done, I found one devout and instructed bosom as regards the offices of Our Lady, who desired that the opprobrium of oblivion should be dissipated, and that in the present and coming age there should be memory of her origin and her deeds. This was Father Friar Pedro Marin, Provincial of these islands of the Order of Preachers, a man of letters, living by

rule and setting an example, and eminent in the pulpit. He consulted with the most illustrious Don Fernando Suarez de Figueroa,[1] the most meritorious Bishop of these islands, who agreed that it was not only a necessary but even an obligatory undertaking.

They both ordered me to enter upon it, and to bring everything clearly to light. So I presently arranged to work with the diligence and fidelity that such a business required, not shrinking from the labour and fatigue of going over so many roads, and the trouble and care required to find credible witnesses, and persons with information respecting things that happened two hundred years ago, and who could throw light on them. Of one thing the reader may be assured: that what I have written of the origin of this holy image and of the miracles it has worked (which is the principal object of this history) which have been judicially proved and certified with many witnesses sworn before public notaries, is based on a Commission I hold, as will presently be seen. If the computation of the years has been somewhat disregarded, it is no fault of mine, seeing that the business was taken up so tardily that soon there would have been no memory left. But this is certain, that in the essential part of the history there will be no fault, but all will be truthfully and faithfully told so far as it can be morally guarded from error, for the subject requires no less.

It should also be said that what is written about the island, the inhabitants of it, and their customs, has been

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[1] Dr. Don Fernando Suarez de Figueroa, of the Habit of Calatrava, Chaplain to the King and Bishop of Canaria, had a common ancestor with the Dukes of Feria, in Don Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, the Master of Santiago, who was created Count of Feria in 1468 by Henry IV. Argote de Molina says of this prelate: "respecting his virtues, valour, and learning, it is better to be silent than to be brief." —*Nobleza de Andaluzia*, p. 346.

collected with as much care as is possible, selecting from much material that which is most certain, most in accordance with reason, and most universally received. The part which treats of the conquest, of the wars and the conquerors, is partly from what I have heard, and partly from the archives and other writings, with the lawsuits about possessions. It is full, all related as it took place ; and it is not my fault that there are errors, for I was not present when the events occurred, nor is there a man now in the islands who saw them. It is better to have something, though brief and confused, than to leave all unknown. For greater clearness and precision, the history is divided into four books :—

I. The description of the island of Tenerife and its productions, of the inhabitants, their customs, and other things.

II. The origin and appearing of the holy image of Candelaria, and of what passed at that time.

III. The conquest of the island, and of the conquerors.

IV. The miracles which Our Lord has worked with this holy relic.

As it is fair to all to know that, in this business, all has been proceeded with in conformity with what is right, I will here insert the documents that were drawn up to secure that what I write is correct. In the place and within the bounds of Candelaria, on the 14th day of May, 1590, before his Lordship, the following documents were presented :

PETITION.

" Friar Tomas Leçama, Vicar of this convent of Our Lady of Candelaria, and Friar Alonso de Espinosa, Preacher of the said convent, Friar Agustin de la Cruz, Friar Antonio Lopez, Friar Alonso de Castilla, Friar Miguel Morera, Friar Tomas Rodriguez, and Friar

Domingo Tirado, Professed Friars of the Order of Preachers, and dwellers in this convent, for ourselves and our successors, appear before your Lordship, and say that the image of this our convent, and of the dedication of Candelaria, as is public and notorious, appeared in this district in the time of the ancient inhabitants of this island, before they became Catholics, and from that time until now it has always worked many manifest and evident miracles, worthy to be known not only in this island but throughout the whole world. Although some of them are proved by statements and testimony that were recorded concerning them, yet, as our predecessors had not given evidence for the said miracles, the particulars of some have been lost owing to this inadvertence, and many others remain to be proved: thus the image loses some of the fame that she merits. For it is one of the best relics with which Our Lord has shown mercy to the world, placing it in this rugged and desert land, that it might prove what care He takes of all those who profess the faith. It was even the principal reason why the infidel nations of this island were converted to the faith, for they had made festivals for it in the time of their infidelity, and looked upon it as a divine thing. All the world testifies to this truth, of which notice has been received: even in the Indies and most distant parts they have come to take part in this devotion. We feel it necessary that your Lordship should assist at this worship, being authorised and qualified owing to this house and image having so great an offering and memorial, by interposing your authority to sanction the worship. For this we pray and supplicate your Lordship, in the name of the said convent and of all the island, that you will order your judicial commission to be given to Father Friar Alonso de Espinosa, Preacher of this holy house, or to some other Father who may be nominated by our Father Provincial,

that, in company with the ordinary notary of the port or place when he may be in any of these islands, he may collect information respecting the origin of our sacred image and its antiquity, and evidence of the miracles it has worked, and such other things as may be desirable ; and that, after these researches, your Lordship will confirm them with your authority by a judicial decree ; by which, besides the service to Our Lord and to this sacred image, you will bestow a great favour on all these islands, and on our Order more especially. For this, Friar Tomas Leçama, the Vicar, Friar Alonso de Espinosa, Friar Agustin de la Cruz, Friar Antonio Lopez, Friar Alonso de Castilla, Friar Miguel Morera, have presented the said petition, and your Lordship said that what is right should be done.

"After the beforesaid 14th of May, 1590, your most illustrious Lordship, having seen what was contained in the said petition, said that the Father Vicar Provincial of the Order of St. Dominic should provide a religious person, versed in science, conscientious and devout, to do what is asked in this petition, with the fidelity that such a duty requires, and that the statements received from witnesses shall be written down faithfully and authentically as the case requires, and that the same be required of the persons who make depositions. Thus altogether, and one with another, shall be proved what will be best for the service of God, and the honour and glory of the most holy Mother. This petition shall be placed at the commencement of the report as is arranged, and so I approve and sign, the Bishop of Canaria, before me Pedro de Villaroel, Notary Secretary. Seen by the Vicar Provincial, and with regard to what the Bishop has approved I order as follows :—

The Commission.

"I, the Master Friar Pedro Marin, Vicar Provincial of these Islands of Canaria, of the Order of Preachers, in compliance with what is above contained, nominate and elect the Father Friar Alonso de Espinosa, Preacher of our Order, and resident in the convent of Our Lady of Candelaria, as a person who combines the necessary qualifications, to collect and bring together the miracles worked by this image of Our Lady of Candelaria, and to make a report on them and on the origin of the holy image; for this great relic should not fall into oblivion, but the devotion to it and its name should increase in all parts. I order the said Father, with all fidelity and care, to conduct this business; and this is signed by my name, and sealed with my seal. Given in our convent of Our Lady of Candelaria on the 15th of May, 1520, Friar Pedro Marin, Vicar Provincial."

That the secular arm may help the ecclesiastical, it was desirable to obtain their favour, so as not to be left wanting; and so he says:—

"After the abovesaid, on the 25th of May, 1590, the Doctor Francisco Lercaro, Lieutenant of this island, at the prayer of the Father Friar Alonso de Espinosa, having seen the order of his Lordship, said that he ordained and ordains that the above orders be complied with according to their contents; and gave his commission requiring that any public notary of this island, and at the places in it, before whom the said Father Friar Alonso may present the said order, shall comply with what it contains; and that, in compliance, he is to receive all the witnesses that present themselves, examining them on the subject of their

evidence, the said Friar Alonso being present. So I order and sign.

"The Doctor FRANCISCO LERCARO,
"Benito de Ortega, Public Notary."

"Gran Canaria, September 17th, 1590. The Licentiate, Gomez de Palacios, Lieutenant of this island, having seen these acts, and the order of the Lord Bishop of these islands, said that he would comply with what they contain, and gave orders for this compliance, that all the public notaries of this island should receive the said depositions of the witnesses who might be presented by the said Friar Alonso de Espinosa, who would be present; and all shall be done for the said Friar Alonso de Espinosa. This I order and sign.

"The Licentiate GOMEZ DE PALACIOS,
"BERNARDO DE PALENÇUELA, Public Notary."

With these acts and commissions all the depositions were taken, and most that is contained in this book, with the fidelity and diligence that such an investigation requires, taking what is necessary for the history, working it up into the style that I was best able to write: and, though I altered some of the words, I never changed the sense, leaving it in its entirety and fidelity, as anyone will see to whom the duty of examining it may be committed.

THE

ARGUMENT

OF THE

FIRST BOOK.

O careful pen, thou soarest high
To tell of Nivaria's tale,
A tale that surely should not die,
If thy good purpose does not fail.
The birth and genius of a host,
Customs and people well portrayed,
While Nivaria well may boast
That here our sea-washed Lady staid.

FIRST BOOK.

DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF TENERIFE,

OF ITS FERTILITY, OF THE PEOPLE, AND OF THEIR CUSTOMS.

CHAPTER I.

Description of the Island of Tenerife, and its Antiquity.

BEFORE we enter upon and engulf ourselves in the origin, antiquity, and marvellous works of the holy image of the glorious Virgin of Candelaria, it is desirable that we should give some account of the Island of Tenerife, where that holy image made its appearance.

Among the seven islands commonly called the Canaries (because one of them so called dominates the others) the largest, the most rich, and the most fertile is Tenerife. It is not my intention to discuss the reason that they are called the Canaries, for I only intend to treat of one, which is Tenerife. The ancients gave it the name of Nivaria, from a lofty mountain in its centre called Teyde,

which, owing to its great height, has snow on it nearly all the year. This peak of Teyde may be seen at a distance of nearly 70 leagues out at sea, and from it all the other islands can be seen. The ancient name agrees very well with that given to it by the Palmeses, which is Tenerife; for, according to what I am told, *Tener* means snow, and *Fe* means a mountain[1]; so that Tenerife means the snow mountain, which is the same as Nivaria.

The natives of this island, whom we call Guanches, were called Achinach in their ancient language. The island is situated in the Atlantic sea or ocean, 80 leagues from the coast of Africa, and 260 from the island of Cadiz or more. The greater part of this island and its coast bears north-east and south-west, or east and west. It is deep and clean land. It is almost in the middle of the seven islands, for to the south-east is Canaria, to the east Fuerteventura, to the north-east Lanzarote, while Palma lies to the west, Hierro bears west-south-west as well as Gomera. The form of the island is nearly triangular, for it has three capes on points: the point of Naga, which is the north-east, that of Teno to the west-south-west, and the mountain of Roxa to the south-south-east. It has a circumference of 31 leagues, and has a width of 8 leagues at the narrowest part. It is in 28° 30′ of latitude.[2]

There was knowledge of these islands, although not of all of them, from a time before the birth of Christ our

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[1] *Teide*, the name of the peak, is said to have meant Hell, in the Guanche language. The name of the island is Tenerite, or Chenerif and Chenerfe. Espinosa's suggestion of *Tener* (snow) and *Fe* (mountain) is a mere guess. Lord Bute thought that Te or Cha was the article, and that *nerife* means mountain, or some special kind of mountain, such as a volcano (p. 30). Abreu de Galindo also suggests *thener*, a mountain, and *ife*, white or snow. He also gives *Chineche* for the native name, and *Vincheni* for the name of the inhabitants.

[2] 52¼ miles long by 31¼ broad; 28° to 28°.27′ S. Lat.

redeemer. For Plutarch, in his Life of Sertorius the Roman captain, fifty years before the birth of Christ, makes mention of some of them which are the largest, and states as follows. Sertorius being at Cadiz, in flight from the Romans who had displaced him, certain sailors came to him, who appear to have just returned from the Atlantic Islands called Buenaventuradas. After having described their position, they said that in the islands there was little rain and moderate winds, and for the most part mellowed with dews. The soil of the islands is thick, and not only easy to dig, plough and sow, but even without any human aid it produces sweet fruit sufficient to keep many people idle. The air is always pleasant and salubrious, and a moderate temperature is maintained through the seasons. For the north and east winds which blow from the land, in the immense tracts they have to pass, composed of deserts and wastes, arrive much dissipated, bringing with them only gentle moisture. The winds coming from the side of the ocean are like zephyrs.

So that it is generally believed that these are the Elysian Fields of which Homer sings. When Sertorius heard these things, he had a strong desire to go to the islands and live there in quiet, without the care of waging wars.

This was written by Plutarch, who had no knowledge of more than two islands in the time of Sertorius, and these not the largest. How much more might he have written if he had had knowledge of that island of which I am about to treat.[1]

The poet Virgil, in the 4th book of the Æneid, mentions the great peak of this island, when he makes Mercury,[2] sent

[1] Sir E. Bunbury has given good grounds for the opinion that the two islands were Madeira and Porto Santo. *Ancient Geography*, ii p. 82 (*n*).

[2] Here called by his surname, Cyllenius.

by Jupiter, go to Carthage to undeceive Æneas, and to encourage him so that he might not abandon the voyage to Italy which he had undertaken. The curious can turn to the passage.[1]

In the time of the Emperor Justinian, as is stated in the *Martilogium*, or Roman Kalenda, there was no mention of more than six islands, whose names were Sprositus, Junonis, Pluitula, Casperia, Canaria, Puituaria. These are most ancient, and always known as fertile and abounding in everything, as will be seen in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Fertility of the Island.

THERE is in this island, of which I am about to speak, on the north side, abundance of waters, fountains, rivers, springs, and waterfalls which fall into the sea from the

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[1] Jamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
Atlantis duri, cœlum qui vertice fulcit ;
Atlantis cinctum assidue cui nubibus atris
Piniferum caput et vento pulsatum et imbri ;
Nix humeras infusa tegit ; tum flumina mento
Præcipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba,
Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
Constitit ; hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas
Misit.—

Æneis, iv, l. 247-254.

But Virgil is describing Mercury's flight in sight of Mount Atlas not of the Peak of Tenerife.

Nor sees the top of Atlas as he flies,
Whose brawny back supports the starry skies,
Atlas, whose head with piny forests crowned,
Is beaten by the wind—with foggy vapours bound.
Snows hide his shoulders, from beneath his chin
The founts of rolling streams their race begin ;
A beard of ice on his large breast depends
Here, poised upon the wing, the God descends.
Then, resting thus, he from the towering height
Plung'd downward with precipitated flight,
Lights on the seas, and shines along the flood.—

Dryden.

heights. On the south side there are also waters, but not in such abundance as on the north side. It is almost divided by very high mountains, which rise to a height called *Cumbre*, in the middle of which rises that high peak called Teyde. It is in general a land of very good and temperate airs, which make it fertile, yielding many and good fruits. So that after the Spaniards came to inhabit the island, it produced much bread of all kinds. Of wheat alone it yielded 12,000 *fanegas* and more, besides the rye and barley which they reap in great abundance, as their ordinary sustenance. There are many vineyards, both irrigated and not irrigated, in Buenavista, in Daute, in La Rambla, in Orotava, and in Tegueste, yielding pleasant wine, which is taken to Spain, France, England, Guinea, and the Indies. There are pot herbs and fruits the same as in Spain, much sugar, honey, wax, flocks and herds of all kinds. They breed abundantly, and are very good. There is abundance of game, partridges, rabbits, doves, and ducks. There are also plenty of birds of all sorts, and among them there are many which are called canaries in Spain. They are small and green, with dark brown heads. Their songs are clear, and full of melody. There are also, in this island, mountains of much freshness, and well clothed with trees, cedar, cypress, laurel, palms, poplar, oak, besides other kinds of wood which are not found in Spain. There are pines in great abundance, the trunks of which are very thick. Great beams and very broad planks are made from them, which never rot. It is a very red wood, called by the people *tea*. Of these pines there are some so large, as the fame goes, that the parochial church of Los Remedios in the city of Laguna, which is 80 feet long by 48 broad, was covered with the wood of a single pine. With another pine the church of San Benito, in the same city, was roofed, being 105 feet

long by 35 broad, without the use of any other wood. There are many other kinds of timber, such as azabuches,[1] lentiscos,[2] sabinas,[3] carbusanos,[4] tiles,[5] palos blancos,[6] vinaticos,[7] escobones,[8] etc. There is a tree with a very sweet smell, the smoke of which, besides emitting a pleasant odour, is medicinal and an antidote. It is called "ligno-aloe," and may perhaps be that of which the sacred scriptures make mention.[9] There is another tree called "draco," which is large but with few branches. At the ends of the branches there are only 5 or 6 leaves, little thicker or larger than cones. It has no heart within. The wood is very spongy and light, so that it serves for the covering of hives and to make shields. The gum which this tree exudes is called dragon's blood, and that which the tree sweats out without cutting is the best, and is called "blood by the drop." It is very good for medicine, for sealing letters, and for making the teeth red. There is another small tree called *tabaybe*,[10] from which comes a very white milk. This milk, dried in the sun and mixed with dragon's blood, is very good for sealing letters. They also make string from it for catching birds, and mashed up it is good for the teeth and for clearing out phlegm. There are many other trees and medicinal herbs, which I pass over to avoid prolixity. Along the coast there are many fish and sea products of various kinds, such as cuttlefish, periwinkles, *lepas*, mussels, and craw-fish.

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[1] *Azabache* means jet. [2] Mastick.

[3] Juniper. [4] Vetch. [5] Lime.

[6] *Notelæa excelsa* (*Webb and Barthelot*), *Olea excelsa* (*Perez*).

[7] *Persea Indica.* [8] *Cytisus proliferus.*

[9] Psalms, xlv, 8, "Thy garments smell of aloes"; Proverbs, vii, 17, "I have perfumed my bed with aloes"; Cant. iv, 14, "Aloes with all the chief spices"; John, xix, 39, "Nicodemus brought a mixture of aloes."

[10] Euphorbia.

CHAPTER III.

Of other Notable Things of this Island.

OUTSIDE the fertile part there must be nearly half uninhabitable and uncultivated, owing to having been burnt at some time, so that it is laid waste without yielding anything, not even grass for the flocks. This happened before it was conquered, and came into the power of Christians. Fire, engendered in the interior of the earth, broke forth in various places, and flowed like great rivers in several directions, showing the marks which the fire left, and the stones and earth burnt up and made barren. It was from this cause that ancient authors took occasion to call this the Island of Hell, on account of the fire that came from it.[1]

That this has been so more than in the other islands, we saw with our own eyes in the year 1585. In the Island of Palma, at the extremity of the level country, which ends at a small fountain in a plain, the land rose visibly in the form of a volcano, to such a height that it looked like a high mountain. This was preceded by tremblings of the ground and earthquakes, after which a great mouth opened, and sent forth frightful flames and red-hot rocks. At the end of some days the fire broke out, and poured down two or three rivers of fire of the width of an arquebus shot, making so much noise that it was heard in the other

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There have been destructive irruptions since the time of Espinosa. In 1705 a stream of molten lava broke down the sides of the volcano of Fasnea, and flowed down towards the sea, between the towns of Guimar and Arafo. It then divided into two streams, one of them nearly reaching the sea. The people all fled up the "Ladara de Guimar," a lateral spur which bounds the valley on the south side. There is a full account of this irruption in the work of Berthelot. The chaos of black lava still remains, with nothing growing upon it but a small white lichen. Garachico, a town and harbour on the west side of the island, was also destroyed by an irruption, and the harbour was filled up.

islands. The molten rivers flowed down more than a league to the sea. The force of the fire was so great that it warmed the sea for a distance of half a league from the coast. Considering this, I say that what is said of this island is credible, seeing that so much of it is desolate, and, in consequence, uncultivated. But the land which escaped these irruptions is very profitable, and grows all kinds of trees and legumes, and sustains animals and birds such as are bred in other lands, and some besides.

There is another special thing connected with the island. It is that no poisonous animal whatever is bred in it, such as snakes, lizards, scorpions, but only certain spiders which do harm when they bite. This suffices for a description of the island, and we will now go on to treat of the people who formerly inhabited it, and of their customs.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the People who formerly Inhabited this Island.

In former times this island was inhabited by the natives of it, whom we call Guanches.[1]

It has not been possible to ascertain their origin or whence they came, for as the natives had no letters, they had no account of their origin or descent, although some tradition may have come down from father to son. Hence there have been many opinions on the subject. Some say they are descended from the Romans, although it does not appear whence they came, nor on what authority the opinion is founded. Others say that they are descended

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[1] Guanche is a corruption of *Guanchetinerf*. The root word s *Guan*, which also occurs as *Ben* and *Ven*. *Guan* signifies a son, or a native of a place. *Che* may be the article. *Tinerfe* is the mountain. Abreu de Galindo says that the natives on the north side of the island were much fairer than those on the southern side.

from certain tribes in Africa, who rose against the Romans and killed their prætor, or judge. As a punishment for this, instead of killing them all, some had their tongues cut out, so that, having no pens or paper, they could not hand down an account of the rising. They were then put into boats without oars, and committed to the sea and to their fate. These exiles came to the islands and peopled them. If the natives descend from men without tongues, they could not know much of their origin.

Others say that when Sertorius was pursued by the Romans, having abandoned his place and government, he fled with a company consisting of Africans and other nations. Having heard of the fertility of these islands from some sailors when they were at Cadiz, the followers of Sertorius, after his death, to avoid falling into the hands of the Romans, gave up everything to go in search of the islands, and in this way they were peopled. There is another author who says that, in ancient times, these islands were as near Africa as Sicily is to Italy, but that, in course of time, owing to storms and floods, they became more distant. The people that came to the islands remained ignorant of the art of navigating, each remaining on their own island without communication.

The old Guanches themselves say that they have an immemorial tradition that sixty people came to this island, but they know not whence they came. They united and formed their settlement near Icod,[1] which is a place on this island, and they gave it this name, which is a word in their language. *Alzauxiquian abcanabac xerax*[2] means "the place of union of the son of the great one."[2]

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[1] A place on the west coast of the island.

[2] *Xerax* is the sky. Nuñez de la Peña gives the same sentence, but *abcanahac* for *abcanabac*, and *xerac* for *xerax*. See Lord Bute, p. 31. But Nuñez de la Peña copied from Espinosa, though not quite correctly. Lord Bute confesses that he can make nothing of the sentence. *Alsanaxi* may be "*Ac sonat*," "the brother," and *guian*

The reader can adopt any one of these opinions that seems most probable. My own is that the Guanches derive their descent from Africans, as well because of the contiguity of the mainland, as by reason of the close resemblance in customs and language, and the method of counting.[1] It may be added that the words for *gofia*,[2] milk, and grease are the same. Those who desire to know, have notice that there are people in these islands whose traditions go back 1520 years. The fame runs that the Apostles sent a bishop to preach the faith, whose name they promised to give me. The Kalendar states it in these words:—

"Fortunatæ Insulæ sex numero, Aprofitus, Junonis, Pluitala, Casperia, Canaria, Pintuaria, in Oceano Atlantico,

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for "*guan*," a son. In "*abcanahac*" we have a proper name, perhaps "the great one," and "*xerax*," "the heaven." The sense would be "The sons and brothers of the great one, from heaven."

[1] We have no numerals in the Guanche language. The numerals may have been common to all the islanders. In 1341 there is evidence that a voyage was made to the Canary Islands under the auspices of the King of Portugal, with a Florentine on board named Angiolino del Tegghia dei Corbizzi, who wrote the account of the voyage. The manuscript was the property of Boccaccio, and it was printed at Milan by Sebastiano Ciampi in 1827. The Florentine gives the numerals of the islanders; Galindo gives the numerals of Canaria. Up to ten the two versions are as follows:—

The Florentine.	*Galindo.*
1. Nait	Been.
2. Smetti	Lini.
3. Amelotti	Amiat.
4. Acodetti	Arba.
5. Samusetti	Cansa.
6. Sasetti	Sumous.
7. Satti	Sat.
8. Tamatti	Set.
9. Aldamarava	Acot.
10. Marava	Marago.

The Florentine's Italian endings may be left out. Then three (*ami*) is the same: seven (*sat*) is the same; ten (*marava* or *marago*) practically the same. The Florentine must have taken them down carelessly, but the three alike show that both came from the same source.

[2] The staple food of the islanders. It is a porridge of barley meal and milk.

ab occasu Africæ adjacentes. Hic Blandanus magnæ abstinentiæ vir ex Scotia pater trium milium monachorum cum beato Maclonio has insulas septenis perlustrar. Hic dictus Maclonius gigantem mortuum suscitat: qui baptizatus Iudeorum ac paganorum penas refert et paulo post iterum moritur tempore Justiniani Imperatoris."

Which means that the Fortunate Islands are six: Aprofito, Juno, Pluitala, Casperia, Canaria, Pintuaria, situated in the Atlantic to the West of Africa. In them there was a fair man of great abstinence, a native of Scotland, father and shepherd of "3000 monks for the space of seven years." He resuscitated a dead giant, and baptized him. The giant recounted and explained the pains that Pagans suffer in hell, and shortly afterwards he died again in the time of the Emperor Justinian.

If these people were on the islands so long ago, and if they had no letters (as they had not), it is not strange that they should be ignorant of their origin and descent. Let them come from where they may, they were Gentiles without any law, nor ceremonies, nor gods like other nations. Although they knew of God, and called Him by various names and appellations, as *Achahurahan*,[1] *Achahucanac*, *Achguavaxerax*,[2] which words mean the great, the sublime, He who sustains all things, yet they had no rites nor ceremonies, nor words with which they might venerate Him. Moreover, when the usual rains failed, and from want of water there was no forage for the flocks, they got together the sheep in certain places, where it was the custom to invoke the guardian of the sheep. Here they stuck a wand or lance in the ground; then they separated

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[1] According to Viana, *Acaman* is God Most High. But Marin y Cubas says that the sun is *Acaman*. Galindo has *Achaman* for God. Lord Bute thinks that *Ac* or *Ach* is the article, and *aman* the sun.

[2] Galindo has *Acguayaxerax*. *Guaya* means a spirit, and *xerax* the sky.

the lambs from the sheep, and placed the mothers round the lance, where they bleated. They believed that God was appeased by this ceremony; that He heard the bleating of the sheep, and would send down the rain.

CHAPTER V.

Of some other Customs of the Natives.

THE knowledge that the native Guanches had of God was so confused that they only realized His existence, understanding that there was a maker and sustainer of the world, whom they called, as I have already said, *Achguayaxerax*,[1] *Achoron*, *Achaman*,[2] sustainer of heaven and earth. But they knew nothing of the immortality of souls, nor of future punishment, nor of the glory in another life.

Nevertheless, they knew that there was a hell, and they held that it was in the peak of Teyde. They called it *Echeyde*,[3] and the devil *Guayota*.[4] Although they were a people without law, they did not live altogether outside law, for in some things their actions were according to reason. Such were their subjection to superiors, and their knowledge of vassalage, also their contracts of marriage, and distinction between legitimate children and bastards, making and obeying ordinances, and other things which will be seen in the course of the history.

They were accustomed (for we begin at the beginning) when a child was born, to call a woman whose duty it was, and she poured water over its head; and this woman thus

[1] The spirit of the skies. See preceding page.

[2] The Sun God.

[3] Echeyde or Teyde was translated hell by the Spaniards. Lord Bute held that the *ech* or *t* was the article, the root being ida (eyde).

[4] Guaya means a spirit.

contracted relationship with the child's parents, so that it was not lawful to marry her, or to treat her dishonestly. They know not whence they derived this custom or ceremony, only that it existed. It could not be a sacrament, for it was not performed as one, nor had the evangelic law been preached to them. It was merely a ceremony of washing, and other nations also used it. It may have survived from the time that Blandano and Maclonio preached in these islands, or before ; and when they died or departed nothing but the ceremony was left, its object and significance being forgotten, and the name of Him who instituted it.

The exercises with which they trained their sons were leaping, running, throwing, and preparations for war, which were much used among them. These warriors (who were nearly the whole male population) were also disciplined. The inviolable law was that a warrior, meeting a woman by chance in the road, or in any solitary place, who spoke to her or looked at her, unless she spoke first and asked for something, or who, in an inhabited place used any dishonest words which could be proved, he should suffer death for it without appeal. Such was their discipline.

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Clothes they wore, and of their Food.

THIS people had very good and perfect features, and well-shaped bodies. They were of tall stature, with proportionate limbs. There were giants among them of incredible size ; and that it may not appear fabulous, I will not repeat what is said on the subject.

Of one it is generally said, as a verified and ascertained fact, that he was 14 ft. high, and had eighty teeth in his

mouth. It is said that the great body is in *Guadamoxete*, the ancient burial place of the Kings of Guimar, whose nephew he was. He fell in a battle with the King of *Tegueste*, and they say that, having been killed by the enemy, one of his lineage took his *banot* (which was the weapon he fought with) to avenge his death, which he did.

The people to the south are of rather a brown colour, either from inheritance or from the hot climate, their skins being toasted by the sun, as they go about nearly naked. But on the north side they are white, and the women are beautiful and rosy, with long hair.

They had no flax or cotton, and their clothes consisted of lambs' skins, or of the skins of sheep, of the colour of chamois hair, worn like a shirt without folds, collar, or sleeves, and sewn with thongs of the same skin. They are sewn with such skill that there is no skinner who could dress the skins so well, nor who could sew them together with such excellence, so that the seams can scarcely be seen ; and this without needles or awls, other than fish bones or thorns from the trees. The dress was fastened with thorns in front and at the sides, leaving room for the arms. This kind of dress was called *Tamarco*. The women, from motives of modesty, wore, under the Tamarco, a skirt of leather, which went down to their feet. They were very careful about this, for it was not considered modest to expose either the bosom or feet. This was the dress of great and small, serving for a covering during life, and as a shroud after death.

If their clothes were not very costly, their food could not be priced any higher, for they only possessed and sowed barley and beans. The island did not yield wheat nor rye, nor other pot-herbs than these beans. If they once had wheat the seed had been lost.

The barley, after it had been washed, was toasted at a

fire, and was then ground in a small hand-mill, which was like those in Spain for grinding the grease of bullocks. This flour is called *Gofio*,[1] which, when sifted, was their ordinary food, mashed up and loosened with water, or with milk or mutton fat. It served in the place of bread, and was very nourishing.[2]

They also ate the flesh of sheep, goats, and pigs, and they fed on it by itself, without any other relish whatever, and without *gofio*. The flesh had to be half roasted, because, as they said, it contained more substance in that way than if it was well roasted.

They had during the year (which they counted by lunations) many general assemblies, and the reigning lord supplied the feast, consisting of heads of cattle, *gofio*, milk and grease, which was all he was able to offer. At these assemblies each person showed off his valour, making a parade of his accomplishments in leaping, running, and dancing what is called the *Canario*, with much agility and movement, and the other exercises in which they excelled. It is wonderful that men so valiant, with such strength and agility, and with such fine faculties as they possessed, should have been brought up on such rough and coarse food.

They also had honey from a fruit they called *Mocan*,[3] which is the size and appearance of chick peas. Before they ripen they are very green. When they begin to ripen they become red, and when they are quite ripe they are very black. They only use the juice, which the natives call *Yoya* and the honey from it *chacarquem*. They make the honey in this way. They gather the mocans when

[1] Galindo gives the word "*Ahorer*" for barley-meal roasted and dressed with butter and milk.

[2] *Gofio*. It is still the staple food of the people, made from maize, wheat, or other grain, and is said to be very nourishing, as prepared from the Guanche receipt.

[3] *Visnea Mocanera*.

quite ripe, and put them in the sun for three or four days. Then they are mashed up and set to boil in water until the infusion is like a syrup. They use it as a medicine for pains in the side, which is the infirmity from which they suffer most. Their manner of effecting a cure was by bleeding on the arms, head, and forehead with a *Tabona* or obsidian knife.

CHAPTER VII.

Their System of Cultivation and their Marriages.

As I have said that they only sowed barley, I wish now to explain their system of cultivation. The king owned the land, and he gave and divided it to each according to his quality and services. On the land thus granted to him, each man made his habitation (for there was no assembling in towns), his home generally being a cave formed by nature. Some huts were made of rough stones, very well worked. Where there were no caves, they built houses of stone roofed with straw, and round their habitations they had their flocks, which were not to browse on the pasture of their neighbours. In order that flocks and herds might not be in want of pasture, they were very vigilant in preventing plants from growing which were not good for the sheep and goats. Thus they always grew fat, because they were reared under the eyes of their owners. Within the land of his grant each man prepared the earth with the horns of a goat or with poles of the "*tea*," having no metal of any kind. They then sowed their barley.[1] This was done by the men. The rest of the work, down to the storing of the harvest in the granaries or caves, was the business of the women.

[1] Their seed time was in the month of August, which they called "*Benesmen*" (*Galindo.*)

When they got in their harvest and made their bread, there were assemblies and festivals in each lordship, in recognition of the benefits received, and these festivals were so privileged that, although it was in time of war, people could go to them from one kingdom to another.

This was their way of contracting matrimony. The man desiring it, the woman, who might be a widow or repudiated by another man, asked her parents (if she had any), and if they consented, they were married, both consenting, without any other ceremony or contract. The women had what they wanted or were able to obtain for sustenance. As marriage was easy to contract, so it was equally easy to dissolve. For if the husband was disgusted with his wife, he sent her back to her home, and she was then able to marry again without incurring any punishment, and he also, as often as he desired. The children of a dissolved marriage were looked upon as illegitimate, such a son being called *Achicuca*,[1] and a daughter *Cucaha*.[2]

In the intercourse of the sexes they respected their mothers and sisters, but all other relations were eligible, aunts, cousins, nieces, or sisters-in-law. There was no difference, but, although they were addicted to the vice of marriage with relations, they abominated extremely any worse sin.[3]

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[1] *Achi* is the article. *Cuca* was the son of a dissolved marriage, but not illegitimate.

[2] *Cucaha* is, according to Lord Bute, the regularly-formed feminine of *Cuca*.

[3] Husband and wife slept in separate beds, and no other person was allowed to sleep in the room or cave where they slept (*Galindo*).

CHAPTER VIII.

Of the Lords who reigned in this Island, and of their Dominions, Election, and War.

THIS island and its inhabitants were, for many years, subject to a single Lord, who reigned at Adexe. His name is now forgotten. When he attained old age each of his sons, nine in number, seized upon a part of the territory, each making a lordship for himself. The eldest of them, as he was first in age, so was he first in discretion and force of will. His name was Batzenuhya,[1] or Quebehic,[2] for excellence. This son seized and became lord of the valley of Taoro, which is now called Orotava. It extended from Centejo to La Rambla, with rivers falling into the sea. After him, and in imitation of his policy, the rest of the sons rose and seized upon their shares, calling themselves *Mecei*,[3] which means Lord. Acaymo was called and entitled the Mencey of Guimar. Atguaxona[4] became Mencey of Abona, and Arbitocazpe of Adexe. The other lords, of whose names we are ignorant, reigned in Anaga, Tegueste, Tacaronte, Icod, and Dante. But above all, and whose superiority all the others recognised, was the Overlord of Taoro, who mustered 6,000 warriors, as the natives affirm. It is to be noted that, although these lords inherited from and succeeded their father, their descendants did not do so. For the rule of succession they had was that the succession of two lords was not from fathers to sons; but if the reigning lord had brothers, although he had sons, the sons did not inherit, but the brother, and if he died, the next brother, and so on until there was no brother left.

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[1] *Batzenusia* (Galindo).
[2] *Quebehi* means the royal dignity.
[3] *Mecei* or *Mencey* signifies Lord.
[4] *Atguaxona* (Galindo).

Then the inheritance of the lordship went to the eldest son of the first heir, and so, from one to the other, the succession was continued.

When they raised one to be lord they had this custom. Each lordship had a bone of the most ancient lord in their lineage, wrapped in skins and guarded. The most ancient councillors were convoked to the *Tagoror*,[1] or place of assembly. After his election the King was given this bone to kiss. After having kissed it he put it over his head. Then the rest of the principal people put it over his shoulder, and he said, "AGOÑE YACORON YÑATZAHAÑA CHACOÑAMET" (I swear by the bone on this day on which you made me great).[2] This was the ceremony of the coronation, and on the same day the people were called that they might know who they had for their lord. He feasted them, and there were general banquets at the cost of the new lord and his relations.

The lord did not marry with anyone of the lower orders, and if there was no one he could marry without staining the lineage, brothers were married to sisters.

When the lord changed his residence, which was in the mountains in summer, and on the sea-shore in winter, he took the elders with him, and a *banot* or lance was borne in front of him to show that he was the lord. If anyone met him he prostrated himself on the road, and rising, he cleaned the king's feet with the edge of his *Tamarco*,[3] and kissed them. The lance which was carried before the king was called Anapa.[4]

Among these people there were nobles, knights, and

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[1] *Tagoror* or *Tahoror* was the assembly. Lord Bute says that this is the root of the place-names Taoro and Orotava. The national assembly was held at the great dragon tree afterwards in the garden of the Marquis of Sauzal, at the town of Orotava.

[2] *Agoñe* (I swear), *yacoron* (O God), *inat* (to) *zahaña* (the vassals) *chaco* (by the) *namet* (bone).

[3] Coat of skins.

[4] *Ana* means a ram.

peasants, and each one was esteemed according to the quality of his person. They called the nobles *Achimencei*, the knights *Cichiciquitzo*,[1] and the peasants *Achicaxna*. The lord was called *Mencey*, and hence the nobles, as descendants of lords, were called *Achimencei*, for *Quebehi*[2] was as much as to say Highness. The natives held that God had created man from earth and water, so many men, and so many women, and that the flocks had been given to sustain them. Afterwards he created more men, but did not give them flocks. Praying to God for flocks, He answered and said to them, "Serve those others, and they will give you to eat." From these came the peasants, who served, and were called *Achicaxna*.

All their wars and fights were on account of disputes respecting pasturage for their flocks (they did not possess any other industries) and touching boundaries. When there was war it was announced by smoke signals and whistling. They armed themselves with their offensive weapons. Their only defensive weapons were the *Tamarcos*, being small shields of Draco wood, fastened on the arm. Their lances were twisted and sharpened, and fitted with certain small notches, and with two battens in the middle, between which it was fixed to the hand that it might not fly back, and that the blow might come with greater force. These lances were called *banot*. They fought with them after they had closed with each other, and in delivering the blow they broke off the notches that the point might remain in the wound. From a distance, before closing, they used certain missiles consisting of rounded stones, which they hurled with great force. When they went forth to battle they were nearly naked, having their *Tamarcos* twisted on one arm. Their women

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[1] *Cithiciquico* (Galindo).

[2] *Quevehiera*, your Highness (Galindo).

came with them carrying provisions. The slain were taken to the caves and other burial-places. The conquerors did no harm to the women and children of the conquered, nor to the aged. On the contrary, they left them in peace and let them return to their homes.

These natives were very strong and agile, and things are recounted of them which seem almost incredible. There is a pebble stone in the district of Arico,[1] larger than a great pitcher, which I have seen. It was the common talk among the people that their ancestors used that stone to try their strength. They raised it in their hands, and put it over their heads on to their shoulders with ease. Now there is not a man, however strong he may be, who can lift it off the ground. Their agility was such that at ten paces they could hurl a lance or a stone and never miss, for they aimed with much dexterity. In running, even over steep or rocky ground, which others could not get over walking, they could overtake a goat and catch it by the legs. They were wonderfully clever in counting. Although a flock was very numerous and came out of the yard or fold at a rush, they counted the sheep without opening their mouths or noting with their hands, and never made a mistake. To put the new born with their dams, although there were a thousand head of them, they knew the lamb belonging to each, and got them together. Many other fine qualities were possessed by them, such as to hurl from a rock below, with a lance, to great distances, but as these things are notorious, I will not waste time in writing them down.

[1] South of Guimar.

CHAPTER IX.

Of their Mode of Interment.

THERE are no people, however barbarous, who do not show respect to their dead, and who do not pay them the last honours by burying them where it seems most convenient. This feeling reaches to such a pitch that there has been a tribe, who, in order that their dead might not be eaten by the earth and the worms, interred them in their own entrails by eating them.[1]

The natives of this island, having feelings of piety towards their dead, had the custom that, when one of them died, they summoned certain men (if the dead was a man) or certain women (if a woman) whose office it was and who lived by it. These, taking the body of the dead after it was washed, forced down the mouth certain confections made of melted mutton grease, powder of heath, and of stones, bark of pine trees, and I know not what else, cramming the preparation down each day, and putting the corpse in the sun, on one side and then on the other, for the space of fifteen days, until it was dry. They called it *Xaxo*.[2] During this time the relations mourned and wept, for there were no obsequies after the end of it. The corpse was then sewn up and enveloped in leather from certain heads of the flock, selected and set apart for the purpose. Thus the corpse of the deceased could afterwards be known by marks on the hide. These skins were tanned to chamois colour, and were sewn over with pine bark with much skill, by means of thongs of the same bark, so that the sewing could hardly be seen. In these tanned skins the body of the deceased was enveloped and sewn up. Many other skins were placed on the top, and some

[1] The Cocomas, a tribe of the Amazons.

[2] *Jarço*, the deceased.

Begraebnißhoehle der Guanchen.

Facsimile from
"ALLGEMEINE HISTORIE DER REISEN ZU WASSER UND LANDE."
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were placed in coffins of imperishable wood like *tea*, all made of one piece, carved into the shape of the corpse. In this state the body was carried to some inaccessible cave, approached by notches in a precipice which no one could reach. There they placed and left it, having then done for it the last honours.

The men or women who had prepared it had no conversation or intercourse with any person whatever, nor would any one go near them, for they were looked upon as contaminated and corrupted. When they embalmed a body their husbands or their wives brought them food.

This is what I have been able to find out, with much labour and difficulty, respecting the customs of the natives, for the older Guanches are so timid and fearful that if they know they do not wish to tell, thinking that to divulge anything may be injurious to their countrymen. Thus I remain with insufficient information, having taken up the matter so late (for it is nearly a hundred years since the island was conquered), so that it is not my fault, nor have I offered to give more than I was able.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Remarkable Men who have their Descent from this People.

FROM what has already been said, it may be clearly seen that the natives of this island (not excepting those of the other islands, for I believe that they all had the same beginning and origin) were uncontaminated Gentiles, without rites, sacrificial ceremonies, or worship of fictitious gods, or intercourse with devils like other nations. As the land was productive, when it received good seed and the necessary irrigation, it yielded plentifully its fruit in due season, so the natives, being without ceremonies or

worship, or perfect knowledge of God (a thing which all rational creatures seek for), the evangel found them disembarrassed, and well-disposed material to work upon. The seed of the faith fell into their hearts on hearing the Word. The necessary irrigation of the Divine Word and sacraments assisted the fertile soil, and produced most worthy men, with great zeal for religion and Christianity, men with rich and most exquisite genius as well in the humanities as in divine letters ; men who not only in the toga,[1] not only in the bonnet,[2] but also with the sword, have shown their valour and the virtue of their ancestors.

There have gone forth from this island and people men of all professions, who have served the King with distinction both in peace and war. The Holy Inquisition, knowing their integrity, has admitted them to its counsels and secrets, and has conferred on them honourable employments. The cathedral churches have honoured them by being ruled and governed by them, and they go up and teach in their pulpits.

[1] The dress of a judge or lawyer.

[2] Cap used by clergymen and doctors of universities.

End of the First Book.

THE ARGUMENT OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Let not thy pen fall weakly down,
The hawk soars high to gain its end,
Be it your aim to win the crown
That lofty thoughts must ever send.
Of origins thy story tells,
Alike of Nivaria's race,
Of craggy steeps and woody dells,
And last of Candelaria's grace.

SECOND BOOK.

THE ORIGIN AND APPEARANCE OF THE HOLY IMAGE OF CANDELARIA.

CHAPTER I.

The Fortunate Isles.

IN this island and among the people I have described, God was served that one of the greatest relics in the world, and the one that has worked most miracles, should appear many years before the light of faith or the news of the evangel reached them. Though the ancients called this island and its neighbours the Fortunate Isles, for the fertility of the soil and the fine climate, as well as for the docility of the people, and the abundance of men of genius it has produced, there is no stronger reason for giving it this title of fortunate than that they possess a gift so supernatural, a favour so unusual, a benefit so immense, a piece of good fortune so great, as the most holy image of Candelaria which appeared on the island.

If Loreto values its image, and proclaims its appearance among Christians; if the inaccessible and rocky heights of Monserrat are visited by crowds because their Lady had

appeared there; if Guadaloupe records its works known to the whole world, all due to its image; if Antigua at Seville is venerated; if all these are so valued, and with reason, what estimation, devotion, and respect is due to this Lady of Candelaria for having appeared to Gentiles and in a country of Gentiles.

For it was the means by which they might come to the evangelic faith, and to a knowledge of the one true God. Rome received the faith from St. Peter. Spain had St. James for its preacher. India can boast of having heard St. Thomas and the evangelist St. John. Greece is proud of having received the doctrine, and held it from the beginning, taught by the master of Christianity. But with more reason Tenerife may be proud of having had a preacher of the faith, she who maintained it by exterior as well as interior acts—the Virgin of Candelaria, its patron. Although she did not divulge the evangel by words, by her presence she disposed souls to receive it with much facility, and to keep it with fidelity. It is so much that the natives have from this holy relic that, if the faith did not teach them that our Lady of Candelaria was the mother of God, and not God, they would confess that she was, and believe her to be so—such is the trust they have in her, for having appeared to them while they were Gentiles and because the evangel came through her means.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Time in which this Holy Relic appeared.

IT would be very difficult to fix the time when this holy image appeared; for as it has come down from one to another, the memorial was gradually lost. Nevertheless, taking advantage of their ancient pictures that refer to it and serve as writing, and of the computation by moons,

which the former inhabitants used, I shall try to make the calculation with as much probability as can be reached.

The year 1400 of our redemption was 105 years before the island belonged to Christians and when there was no knowledge of the evangel. Our Lord was served (for he wishes that all should be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth) that this should be the time when the holy image of Candelaria appeared to begin the enlightenment of this fortunate people. They are to be considered fortunate with reason for having such a commencement of the good that was coming to them; such a medium for receiving the Gospel and for reaching the truth; such a sponsor and door for entering into the faith. It appeared in a very dry desert place, near the sea-shore, and close to a sandy beach a league in length, at the mouth of a ravine. It was on a stone where, as a memorial of its appearance, the Christians afterwards set up a cross, which is now standing. A little in front they built a small hermitage, called *El Socorro*. The way in which it was found was as follows:—

Two natives being on that coast, pasturing their flocks, having to cross that sandy beach and going towards the ravine, the sheep were frightened and turned back. One of the shepherds, believing that the sheep were alarmed because they saw people, and thinking they were some natives who wanted to steal their sheep (it being their custom to rob each other), went forward to make sure, looking towards that part of the ravine. He then saw the holy image, which was on its feet, upon a rock. Being a person who was unaccustomed to similar visions, he set himself, not without fear, to consider the matter. There, seeing an infant in her arms, it seemed to him that it was a woman, though strange to him as regarded colour and clothes.

Among these people a custom prevailed that if a man

met a woman alone and in a solitary place, he must not speak to her on pain of death. So the shepherd made signs to the image that she should go away that his sheep might have room to pass. As the image made no movement whatever, nor would answer a word to the shepherd he took up his usual weapons, which were stones, and raised his arm as a menace that he would throw one at her. But when he raised his arm clear to hurl the missile it remained stiff so that he could not turn it. His companion, seeing what had happened, took warning, and stood without movement or voice. Although they at last spoke to the image, there was no reply, so they sought further experience at their own risk, to see if she was a living thing, coming near with more fear than shame. One of them had a *Tabona*, a dark smooth stone, which when sharpened against another similar stone, becomes like a razor, and is used for lancing or bleeding. Holding this stone he came to the holy image, intending to cut one of her fingers, to satisfy his ignorance and see if she could feel. Putting the finger of the image over his own he began to cut, and found himself deceived, for he cut his own fingers, without doing any harm to the fingers of the image. But he persevered, and began again, always cutting his own fingers until the blood ran down, and he rolled over. The fingers of the holy image remained unharmed, without any mark on them. These were the first two miracles that Our Lady worked, for the good of the natives, on themselves.

CHAPTER III.

How the Shepherds brought the News to the Lord of Guimar, of what they had found and seen.

It is the inclination of man, at least of these natives, not to consider events or accidents, nor to take warning from other's heads until their own are broken, becoming wise at their own cost, when they might have got the experience from what had happened to others. So it befell these shepherds, who, not content with the experience of the stiff arm of him who had threatened the image with a stone (to find out whether it was more than human), tried a second experiment at their own cost; but it was all for the best, because there remained less doubt that the vision was divine. An opinion arose between them that there was something besides what they actually saw.

The shepherds consulted with themselves what they should do, and determined that they should make a report to the Lord of Guimar, whose vassals they were, and in whose dominions the holy relic had appeared. The Lord had his residence near at hand. The shepherds described the vision to him and what happened, one showing him his stiff arm, and the other his cut fingers dropping blood. The Lord, much astonished at what he heard, desired to see the thing described by the shepherds. He went from his house to the *Tagorer*, being the place where he received the advice and opinions of his councillors. This place was on a level space in front of the door of his house, and round it were placed stones for seats. A *Tagorer*[1] was usually placed before every house, great or small, according to the quality and means of the owner, where they assembled for conversation. It was the custom that, when any guest

[1] The word seems to have been used both for an assembly and for the place of assembly.

arrived, he did not go into the house, but sat down in the *Tagorer* without a word. When he was seen, the master of the house came out, and they entered together.

The Lord of Guimar came out to his *Tagorer*, or place of counsel, where his vassals were assembled, and presently he set out to see what it was that was reported. The lord, with his followers, came to the place indicated by the shepherds, taking them as guides, and found the holy image where they had left it. The novelty of the thing, never or seldom seen before, caused admiration and astonishment. For they beheld a figure in clothing very different from their own, of a different colour, and with the appearance of a woman, for it held a naked child in its arms. What caused most astonishment was that they saw no movement, and heard no voice nor reply, although they spoke to it, and saw the splendour of its countenance and dress, and the majesty it represented.

It was proposed to convey it to the residence of the king, that he might have it with him. But no one dared to take hold of it, nor to offer to raise it—offices which were appointed for the shepherds. The lord gave them the order, because they had had the first experience of the image. They were, therefore, to have the second experience, and to take hold of it and carry it. God so ordained it, for the glory of His Mother, that she might be made manifest, and her majesty confirmed in the opinion of this gentle people. The two shepherds came forward, one with the fingers of one hand badly cut, the other with a stiff arm. On putting their hands on the image preparatory to raising it, a miraculous thing happened. The injuries of both were healed and made sound, to the great admiration of all present, who, with shouts and whistling applauded the deed, and were pleased and delighted at the benefit thus conferred. The Lord and his followers concluded that the woman must be something supernatural, having

such power to take away health and to restore it. With this they recovered their valour, losing their feeling of terror. To show respect, the Lord, with his own hands, and aided by his chief advisers, raised the image in his arms, to honour the guest who had arrived, and that no common person might carry it. So it was done.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the Origin of the Holy Relic of Candelaria.

IT is excusable to wish to investigate the origin of this holy relic, and whence it came to this island; for all concerning it should be a subject of enquiry. In the year 1400, which is the year when the holy image appeared, although the navigation of this sea was known, and there was information respecting these islands, yet the sea was not then navigated freely, nor did it lead anywhere until Cape Verd was discovered, and the route to the Indies. Therefore, to say that some ship of Christians brought it, and when they brought it that they left it to be dashed about among rocks and stones, is not credible. For the image is the most beautiful and the best finished piece of work that can be seen. To say that the sea brought it, some ship which had it on board having been lost (as we have seen other things brought in that way), and cast it up where it was found, is nonsense. For if this had been so the image would have received bruises, and the sea must have caused it some injury. The gold with which the image is gilded, and the colours, would have been sodden by the water; and it would have been washed up on the beach, and would not have been standing up on a rock, as it was found.

I, therefore, conclude and hold as a thing clear and certain, that it was brought to this island by the ministry of

angels, and that it was the work of their hands. For it is not possible that a work so fine and perfect should have been carved by mortal hands, as well as regards design, shape, colours, and inscription, which is clearly to be seen. Respecting this we shall give details further on, in the thirteenth chapter of this second book.

CHAPTER V.

How the Lord of Guimar brought the Holy Image to his House.

In the Second Book of Kings,[1] chapter vi, the divine words relate that King David brought the ark of the covenant, which was in Gibeah, in the house of Abinadab, to his own city, which was Sion. On the road a disastrous fate befell Uzzah, who touched the ark to steady it on the car, wherein it was placed. On this account the King did not dare to bring the ark direct to Sion, but left it at the house of Abed-edom for three months, in which time the Lord showed favours to him and his household for their hospitality to the ark. When this was made known to David he lost his fear, and came for the ark, bringing it to his house with much rejoicing and festivity.

Almost the same happened to the Lord of Guimar, of whom we are treating; for having seen the withered arm and cut fingers of the shepherds, he and his great men did not dare to go to the image, nor to put out their hands to touch it, seeing what had happened to the others. But when the Lord saw that the image not only allowed itself to be touched, but also healed the arm and fingers of the shepherds, he lost his fear, and would not consent that any but himself and his courtiers should come to it, nor enjoy the delightful labour of carrying it.

[1] II Samuel, "otherwise called The Second Book of the Kings."—A. V.

So, with as much decency and reverence as they understood, they carried it. But it pleased God that the honour and labour should be in common. Having gone the distance of an arquebus shot and a little more, the image being light, and the carriers being strong men of great force, they were yet obliged to rest and ask for help. For this reason, after the country had become Christian, there was founded on the same spot a small hermitage called *del Socorro*, which had always been much venerated and frequented, though not kept in repair, for it has now fallen. Such is the want of devotion of the present time.

Having been given assistance, they proceeded on the road until they came to the residence of the Lord of Guimar, which was half a league from the place where the image first appeared. The king's abode was called Chinguaro. The image was placed in a corner of the dwelling on goat and sheep skins, for other carpets they did not possess. They deposited the image with all the decency that was understood by men who were not accustomed to reverence nor worship gods, nor to treat of divine things.

CHAPTER VI.

How the Lord of Guimar sent out the news of what had appeared in his Dominions to the neighbouring Lords.

THE fortune of one who is fond of company is not enjoyed if it is kept to himself, but he must share it with others, for it is not good to him unless it is diffused among his neighbours. The Lord of Guimar, unlike a miser, felt that he had not perfect possession of his good things until he had communicated their arrival to others. He sent messages to the neighbouring lords, that all might participate. Chiefly, he sent the news to the Overlord of Taoro, whose name was Betsenubyra, for he was most powerful, reigning over the

most extensive territory, and having under him the greatest number of vassals. He held the other lords almost in vassalage, and they paid him tribute. Among other conditions and laws that were imposed upon them, and which they had accepted, there was one that they should report to him any memorable event that happened in their dominions. The reason for this order was that there might be warnings of the arrival of strange people. For there had been, in those times, a prophet or diviner among the Gentiles, really a *zahori* or impostor. His name was Guañameña. He foretold coming events. He said that there would come, between some great birds (meaning ships), a white people across the sea, who would become lords of the island. For this reason, the Overlord of Taoro had given orders that news of all events should be brought to him ; and accordingly the Lord of Guimar sent the news, saying that a strange woman had appeared in his dominions on the sea-shore ; that she was resplendent like the sun, and showed power and majesty in her countenance. The Lord of Guimar invited him of Taoro to come in peace, if he wished to enjoy the sight of her. When the Overlord of Taoro heard the news, he came in peace with 600 followers. Having seen the holy image, and heard the accounts of what had occurred from the shepherds and others, he came to no decision, but waited until the other lords should arrive and assemble. Then came the Lords of Abona, Adexe, Anaga, Tegueste , and Tacoronte, and assembled. Being together and having conversed, without waiting for further discussion, they agreed that the image must be something from heaven—and that, as such, it should be reverenced. They decided that it should have an apartment to itself, lest the smoke of the pine wood in the Lord's house should injure it, and that respect for it might not be lost by being too frequently seen.

The Lord of Guimar, either because he wished to retain the favour of him of Taoro, or because he did not understand or could not estimate the value of what he had in his power, said to the Overlord of Taoro that it seemed to him that it would be well if all shared in this benefit. He proposed that the year should be divided, and that for half the time that woman should be in his lordship of Taoro, and for the other half it should be in Guimar, where she had first appeared. The Overlord of Taoro gave a worthy answer (for even under those skins and *tamarcos* there were lofty minds), saying:—"Although I esteem the offer highly, I cannot accept it. Far more respect is due to a celestial thing, as I hold this to be. I and my vassals should come from our houses to serve and visit her, not expecting that she should come to visit us. If she had wished to reside in my lordship, where we should have received and served her, she would have appeared there. But she appeared in your lordship, and her will is therefore to be here. We have treated for peace, this woman being the mediator; let us then keep the peace."

This Overlord spoke worthily and for the other lords. The Lady then began to make them ready to receive the truth, disposing their hearts so that, little by little, they should understand the benefit they received in possessing her. For she made peace between God and man, and confirmed it by her presence among those pagan kings.

Thus the image remained in the kingdom of Guimar, by the wish of the Overlord of Taoro—that she should be seen and taken care of there, being the forerunner and sign of some great good that would come to the island.

CHAPTER VII.

How the Natives came to a knowledge of who the Holy Image was.

For more than thirty or forty years the holy relic was in possession of the infidels, in the house of the Lord of Guimar, or near it in a small cave, on an altar. For the people only knew and believed that it was something supernatural. They were certified of this, because they heard much angelic music, smelt delicious odours, and saw many lights at night. All these things confirmed them in their opinion, so that by common consent, they offered each one according to his devotion and his means, the most beautiful goats in the flock, which amounted to 600. The king ordered that this flock should be pastured in a special locality called *Ygueste*, and that no one should go there on pain of death. This is what I was able to gather about those obscure times, and bring to light. There thirty or forty years passed in silence, until the year 1520.

After the islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura came under the yoke of the evangel, and under the rule of the Spaniards, who bought them from the French, the first to take and people them, the settlers set out on voyages to surprise and capture natives of the other islands. One of the first captives (if he was not the first) was a boy they found fishing at the entrance of a ravine. They took him away, instructed him in the faith, and baptized him with the name of Anton. As God had chosen him as the tongue of these people, and as the discoverer of the treasure that was hidden in that island, in a short time he benefited much in the faith and gained the confidence of his master, who gave him leave to return to his own country to convert his relations. Some say that they made him their

chief; others that, landing on this island, he remained concealed.

Finally he came to the territory of Guimar. As he came in Spanish clothes, the natives thought he was one of those who made inroad on them, and approached him in a hostile manner. But the boy Anton spoke to them in their own language and appeased them.

Being received, he went to the house of the Lord to give an account of the reason of his coming, and to answer any questions that might be put to him. The Lord thought that, as this boy had travelled in other lands and among other people, he might have some knowledge of what the woman was who was in his house. So the Lord took Anton to where the holy image was. When Anton saw it he went down on his knees, put his hands together, and made signs that everyone present should do the same.

Then the Lord and the others who were present prostrated themselves before the holy image. Anton rose to his feet when he had offered his prayer and adoration, and assumed the office of preacher. He began by dwelling upon the benefit they had received and on the treasure they possessed. He told them of their good fortune, and of the honour conferred on them, in having such a mediator, such a guest, such a companion, such a patron, such a lady in the land; for that she was (using their language) *Achmayex*, *Guayaxerax*, *Achoron*, *Achaman*. She was the mother of the sustainer of heaven and earth, and as such was Queen of the one and the other. She it is in whom the Christians have their hope. "As you have such a prize in your land," he continued, "you should know how to keep it, how to please it. Through her means and intercession you will come to a true knowledge of God, who is the Guayaxerax in whom you believe. Therefore know how to value this blessing, for on the ungrateful God does not confer it."

CHAPTER VIII.

How the Holy Image was taken to the cave of San Blas.

THE persuasions of Anton were not without effect on the natives, nor was his preaching lost in the desert. For it gave the people an opinion of this holy relic, and caused them to hold it in such friendship and devotion that all their strength could accomplish, and all they knew and understood, was employed in her service. Anton told them that it was not decent for the holy image to remain among so many people and where there was so much traffic, for familiarity might give rise to loss of respect. They should seek for a suitable place in which to place her, that she might be mistress of her house. This was the custom among Christians who knew how to show veneration. An order was, therefore, given that, as she had first appeared on the sea-shore, she should be taken to a cave near it, where the shepherds were accustomed to collect their flocks. It was called *Achbinico*, and afterwards received from the Christians the name of the Cave of San Blas. She was put there with the decency the people knew of and could attain to.

The fame of this was spread abroad. It was told, in all parts of the island, that the woman who had appeared in the kingdom of Guimar was the mother of the sustainer of the world, to whom they confessed, and whom they looked upon as God. They came from all parts to the dedication of the cave, and a great concourse of people assembled. They ordered festivals, rejoicings, dances and displays of agility, with races, hurling of lances and other exercises, showing much agility and dexterity, good dispositions, and all the force that each one could display. It was decided to enact a law that the people should assemble here, so many times a year, in honour of the Mother of

God, for their rejoicings and dances (for they knew no other way of showing veneration). Considering the great cost of such festivals, the Overlord of Taoro and Lord of Guimar agreed together that they would unite in honour of Our Lady, that she might provide food in those days, from the flocks that had been, which had been largely increased, and continued to increase in great number. Thus plenty was provided for those days. These arrangements continued to our time, and will continue unless devotion to Our Lady becomes cold.

The holy Virgin remained in the cave of San Blas in charge of Anton, who was her sacristan, together with certain old men stationed to watch and guard her, by the king, at the cave where the image was deposited.

CHAPTER IX.

Of the Procession which, in those times, the Angels made on the sea-shore of Candelaria.

WHILE the holy image of Candelaria was at *Chinguaro* in the house of the Lord of Guimar, or in the small cave near it, where it remained for many years, the native Guanches often heard celestial sounds and saw many burning lights in form of a procession. They were not so frequent at first as they became when the holy image was removed to the cave of San Blas.

For then the Guanches had acquired a better knowledge of her, and of who she was, and she worked so as to confirm them in their convictions, and to encourage them in their devotions.

The processions formed by the angels, as well on the beach where the holy image was, as on that of Socorro where she first appeared, became very frequent, both by night and day, with solemnity and harmony, music from

softest voices, a great company in perfect order with lighted candles. So they made their processions from the hermitage they now call Santiago to the cave of San Blas, there being a wide beach all the way. These processions were so frequent that the natives ceased to be surprised.

On the beach they call Abona, which is some four leagues from that of Candelaria towards the Punta Roja,[1] these processions were also seen, generally on the eve of the Assumption of Our Lady. This is so perfectly true, that now, in these times, persons who have seen it go to the said beach and find candles with the wax burnt out. They have even found some lighted and fixed to rocks. They pointed out the place to me, and I saw them. Thus, on the above beach, as well as on that of Candelaria, great quantities of drops of wax are found, which the processions made by the angels in honour of the Candelaria had dropped.

I speak of what I have seen and heard, and keep the wax in my power. I have heard the same from many others.

The candles they find on these beaches are not very white, and it is not known of what the wicks consist. They are not cotton nor tow, but look more like twisted white silk. With reference to these processions that were seen after the island became Christian, we shall return to the subject when we treat of the miracles.

There also appeared on this island, twenty years before it was conquered, a great quantity of white wax in loaves, in an adjacent port, which for this reason was called the Port of Wax. In proof of this I will insert here, word for word, a faithful testimony given in those times, which I am sure will afford pleasure to all.

[1] S.E. point of the island.

CHAPTER X.

Of the Wax which appeared, and was found in loaves on this Island.

FOR the greater authenticity of what I have written I insert this document, which, from its antiquity, must be held in high estimation :—

"In the name of the Lord. Amen! Be it known to those who see this public instrument of faith, How, in the town of San Christoval, which is in the Island of Tenerife, on Sunday, the 25th of June, in the year of the Nativity of our Saviour Jesus Christ, 1497, in the presence of the most virtuous knight, Alonso de Lugo, Governor of these Islands of Tenerife and Palma, for the King and Queen, our Lords, and in presence of me, Fernando Alvarez, Canon of the church of Canaria by the Apostolic authority, Public Notary, and of the witnesses whose names shall be subscribed : in presence also of the honoured and discreet worthy, Antonio de Arevalo, servant of the King, our Lord : The witness said that it was public and notorious in this island that a miracle is worked each year, a certain quantity of dry wax in loaves appearing for the last twenty years in a certain place in this island. The said Lord-Governor was therefore besought to give orders that certain faithful witnesses should be taken to certify to the said miracle, that it might be shown to them in the said localities, for the increase of the devotion of the Christians ; where some part of the said wax was shown, of which mention has been made. The said Notary asked and required of me that what the said witnesses might say should be testified before the said Lord-Governor, as evidence wherever it may be desired to be set forth. In due course the said Antonio de Arevalo presented, for witnesses, Pedro Fernandez, Diego Fernandez, and Alonso Sanchez de Morales, natives

of the island of Fuerteventura, and residents in the Island of Tenerife; also Gonzalo Mendez Castellano, and Pedro Maninidra, and Pedro Mayor, of the Island of Gran Canaria; and Pedro de Eruas and Thomé de Armas, of the Island of Gran Canaria, who are now residents in the Island of Tenerife.

"These witnesses testified, and each one of them said that it was true. Each year, this island being inhabited by infidels, believing Christians, who lived in neighbouring islands came in ships, to land and seize the Canarians, called Guanches, who lived here. When they landed on that part called Guimar, which is on this island, they found the said wax and took it away, holding it in great veneration as a relic.

"The said Pedro Fernandez, Diego Fernandez, Gonzalo Mendez, Alonso Sanches de Morales, Pedro Maninidra, and Pedro Mayor, said that, during four years that they had been in that part, they had seen the said wax in the said island, and had been present, with many others, when the said wax had appeared in the same place of Guimar. Pedro de Eruas and Thomè de Armas said that it was twenty years, more or less, that they had known of the wax being taken by many persons. They all affirmed, and each one of these said witnesses said that some of the loaves of wax appeared to weigh ten or twelve pounds, and even fifteen to twenty pounds; and they knew that, in this present year, there appeared loaves of twenty pounds and more. Pedro Fernandez, Diego Fernandez, Alonso Sanchez de Moralas, Pedro Maninidra, and Pedro Mayor, were at the finding in this present year, four or five days before the Purification of Our Lady the Virgin Mary. They then heard many persons, who had found the wax, say that it always appeared and was found at that time; and that this is true and notorious as well in this Island of Tenerife as in the other neighbouring islands, for

many people, as has been said, have found it. In this present year there were more than twenty persons present when it appeared. They had come in search of servants of neighbours who had absented themselves. In truth it so happened. The said Antonio de Arevalo requested and asked me, the said Notary, that I would record the said testimony in due form. Therefore I, the abovesaid Fernando Alvarez, Notary, make known to all persons to whom this testimony may be shown, that what is said above is true, and very notorious in these Islands of Canaria. In this present year, at the time when the said wax appeared, there were no candles for saying Mass, nor for the Benediction on the day of the Purification of Our Lady the Virgin Mary. For in this island there are no bee-hives for the supply of wax, nor is it brought from Gran Canaria. For this island has but recently been gained from the infidels, and brought under the yoke of Our Saviour Jesus Christ. I, the said Notary, who at present serve as a *cura* in this island, saw and received twelve pounds of the said wax, and I saw that the Major-domo of the church had as much to celebrate divine service. Of this I gave a certain quantity to the very reverend in Christ, our Father and Lord, Don Diego de Muros, Bishop of these islands, and of the bishoprick of Canaria,[1] who came to visit this island and its church. His lordship sent the said wax to Santa Maria de Guadaloupe and other churches of his diocese, to be preserved as relics. There were present as witnesses the honourable worthies Fernando de Truxillo, Lieutenant of the Governor in this island, Pedro Mexia, and many other persons, on the above day, month, and year.

"I, Fernando Suarez, priest of the diocese of Jaen, canon of the church of Canaria, Public Notary by apostolic

[1] He was the fourth Bishop of the islands.

authority, was present with the said witnesses, and saw all that took place, and I drew up and wrote this public document with my own hand, being called upon, requested, and required so to do. Ferd. Alvarez, Apostolic Notary."

From this document it may clearly be seen what care was taken by this Lady of Candelaria to provide wax for her festivities. For this wax always appeared four or five days before the feast of Candelaria, which is the Purification, that these might be the means of making candles for its celebration. From those times a custom was continued of giving some small candles, as relics, to those who came to the holy place. Among these pilgrims, God, Our Lord, has worked, for the merits of His Mother, as well putting out blazing fires as appeasing furious tempests at sea, for those who carried the little candles; also for women in childbirth, and as protection against storms of thunder and lightning.

CHAPTER XI.

How the Christians at Lanzarote received intelligence of the Holy Image.

As a city built on a height cannot fail to be seen by those living round it, as a burning torch must send forth its light, so this holy relic was bound to become known to the inhabitants who lived in the other islands. For the captives taken from this island would speak of it. The Christians themselves also would see it, beholding the processions of angels from the sea, and the wax which appeared and was found, as is proved from what I have already said, which I hold to be certain and well established. By one chance or another the news spread abroad, and the fame of it was great, for no other thing was possible.

Sancho de Herrera, who was lord of the said islands

heard of the relic and wished to possess it. He postponed all other business, and treated for peace with the natives of the kingdom of Guimar, where the holy image was; giving his word that he would not annoy them, nor consent that his vassals should do them any injury within their boundaries.

It was not very difficult to settle this peace, guarding the natives from the injuries they received from the *Mahoreros*,[1] as the natives of those islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura were called. The treaty having been established, Sancho de Herrero entered into the land to see and become acquainted with it. Then, on the strength of the treaty of friendship, he asked for the holy image, representing that it should belong to the Christians who understood how to appreciate and venerate it, while they, being a people without God, did not possess that knowledge. This request led to proposals and replies. The more cowardly section of the people, wishing to live in peace and without fear of attacks, gave it as their opinion that the image should be given to the Christians. Others, who considered their honour, said that it would be unfaithful, and against all right and reason, to let it go out of the kingdom to which it belonged, or to deliver it up to be taken away. This Lady had come to the kingdom, and it was against reason to surrender her to others. They would not go against reason. It was also brought to mind that the Overlord of Taoro had issued a mandate that the Lady should be looked upon with affection, and that they should not consent to let anyone take her place; for he believed that, through such treatment, good fortune would come to the island. "Erat pontifex anni illius." And thus it was foretold what would happen.

Sancho de Herrera, seeing that he could not get the

[1] So called from a kind of shoe they wore, salled *maho*.

holy image into his power by fair means, and being more covetous of it after he had seen it, yet had not the power to take it by force, resorted to an artifice. He made it appear as if he was going away, embarking with all his followers, without noticing the natives. Having now seen the place where the image was, and the means of getting it into his power, he consulted with his people ; and all being of one mind, as soon as it was dark they set sail for the land, making for the longed-for shore of Candelaria. All went well. The Guanches, off their guard, were in their houses, and the image in its place. The Christians came on shore with the silence that such an undertaking necessitated. They went into the cave, found the precious relic, kissed its feet, and taking it in their arms, they went with it to the ship, well satisfied with their work. They made sail and steered for Fuerteventura, where, before they landed, they spread the news of their precious robbery, of their incomparable leap they had made to secure the image of her who, in her humility, had made a leap to heaven, had robbed it of the second divine person, had borne him away, and descended to the earth. All the people came forward to receive it with great joy and devotion. That inestimable theft was brought to light, the air being serene, the sun shone with new light, and they carried the image in a long and solemn procession to the church of San Salvador, having made the preparations that the want of time and their means allowed. Placed on the high altar of that church, they were joyful at such a guest having arrived, and at the capture they had effected ; not knowing that the act was opposed to her will. On the first night they left her with new lamps and candles burning.

CHAPTER XII.

How the Holy Image did not want to be at Fuerteventura, and how they had to restore it.

IN the First Book of Kings it is related how the Philistines took the ark of the covenant as a prize of war, and put it in the temple of their god Dagon.[1] Leaving it there, they found that next morning their god was taken from its place and thrown to the ground, and next day they found that its head and hands were broken off: for how should the Philistines dare to keep the ark of the Lord in their land, against His will!

God permitting it, there came a loathsome and terrible disease upon them, of which many thousands died, inasmuch that they held it to be well that they should restore the ark to the people of Israel. In some ways this event bears a resemblance to the story we are relating. Those of Lançarote brought the holy image from Candelaria to their island, very joyful and well satisfied at having such a guest in it, and that they should have secured such a mediator, gained such a jewel, and effected such a robbery. They put the image on the high altar of their church of St. Saviour. But man proposes and God disposes. Who would have believed that this image of Candelaria, which these people of Lançarote carried off, to be their support and treasure, would become a knife and a misfortune to them. The Lord was not served (whose secrets are inscrutable and remote from the judgments of man) that the holy relic should remain with them, and so it was given them to understand by obvious signs. For in the morning of the day after they had very joyfully received the image, they found it turned with its face to

[1] I Samuel, "otherwise called The First Book of the Kings," chapter v.

the wall and its back to the people, which was no small mortification for them. They turned it with its face to the people, but as often as they did so, it was found next morning with its back to them. The people consulted together and determined to have processions, public prayers and penances, that the Lord might see fit to let them have that sacred image, for they knew better how to serve and venerate it than the gentile Guanches where it had made its first appearance. But God was not served by listening to them, and another course was ordained. In order to undeceive them, a noisome and pestilential sickness was sent, of which many persons died.

Sancho de Herrera no longer wished to resist the divine will, seeing and knowing the punishment that had resulted from it. He, therefore, arranged to return and restore the holy relic to its former place which it had chosen.

Arriving in due course at the shore of Candelaria, which is where the cave of San Blas is situated, the place and former habitation of Our Lady, the inhabitants came down to the sea-side to see what the men of Lançarote wanted. They said that they had returned to restore the image of Candelaria which they had carried off. The natives being innocent of this seizure and robbery, did not put faith in them, suspecting some trick or deceit. To understand their attitude, it must be known that, when Sancho de Herrera and the other Christians carried off the stolen image, the Lord of Guimar, apprehensive of what might happen (though the deed was already done), sent two of his servants, in the morning, to see that the holy image was in its place. God ordained, for the honour of His Mother (a marvellous thing), that the messengers should find it in its proper place, without any change whatever, and so they reported to the Lord. His mind was thus quieted of some dread he had felt (for there is nothing more loyal than the heart); nevertheless he did not lessen

his vigilance. Every day he took care to send two of his servants in the morning to see the image and bring him news of it. This was done all the time that the image was in Lançarote, so that a great number of witnesses would behold the miracle; and during all that time pleasant sounds of angels were heard, splendid processions and lights were seen, and delicious odours were smelt by those who had charge of the image.

For this reason, when those of Lançarote came back with the said image to restore it, the people would not believe them, until it was shown to them from the ship. To make sure they went to the cave, and not finding it there, they were puzzled. The Lord then wanted to execute justice on those who were in charge, but there were so many witnesses to testify that it had always been seen in its place, that he had to pardon them. So with much satisfaction the image was replaced, additional guards being posted, and more care being taken. To Sancho de Herrera they told what had taken place: how the image had never been absent from the cave, although he had taken it to Lançarote. He and his people wondered at this. It confirmed them in their devotion to the holy image, and in the belief that it wished to remain on this island. So he charged the natives to maintain the reverence that was due to the holy relic. Thus it was that the natives did all that they understood and knew, and was in their power, until the island became Christian and the Gospel was preached.

CHAPTER XIII.

Concerning the Name, Size, Colour, and Lettering of the Holy Image of Candelaria.

ALL the other images that we know of have first appeared among Christians, and have taken the name where the power is felt, or that of the place where they appeared, such as "Monserrate" and "Peña de Francia"; or from the effect they caused when they appeared, such as "Consolacion"; or from the emblems they carry, as in the case of this of Candelaria, who carries a green candle-end in her hand; and from the lights and candles borne on her principal festival of the Purification being very ordinary.

This image is of carved work and perfectly finished, the like of which I have never seen in my life. It is almost five *palmos*[1] in stature, and the pedestal on which its feet are placed has a thickness of two *dedos*. It is of reddish wood, not very heavy, close-grained, but it is not known to what tree it belongs.

The face is very perfectly proportioned to the body, rather long, the eyes grand and so placed, that in whatever direction a man may be they look as if they were fixed on him. Such gravity and majesty is represented in them, and in the face, that no one can look at them fixedly without his shoulders rising and his hair standing on end.

The colour is somewhat brown, with very beautiful roses in the cheeks. But in this matter of colour it is not easy to understand, because it is quite an ordinary thing (as will be seen presently) for the image to change the colour of her face, and to appear now of one, now of another colour.

The hair is without covering or mantle, and all golden,

[1] $3\frac{1}{2}$ feet.

arranged in very beautiful order, in plaits resting on the shoulders. It has a beautiful child on the right side, naked, and with both hands holding a small golden bird. The child is seated on the right hand of the image, and is held by its hand. In the left hand it holds a piece of green candle of the same wood, the size of a "*xeme*,"[1] with a hole at the top so that more candle can be added.

It is dressed in an ancient costume, all gilded from the throat to the feet, entire without any opening; and over the gold are these letters in Latin characters, and coloured red.

TIEPFSEPMERI. The gold is so perfect, as well in the setting as the burnishing, that no expert could equal it, and I scarcely dare to describe it. On the border of this robe there are these letters written in the same manner, EAFM . IRENINI FMEAREI. There must have been others, for I believe that a piece of the skirt with the pedestal has been taken to give away as relics.

There appears also a little of the left foot beyond the skirt, shod with much elegance, with a small red boot.[2]

The end of the sleeve, at the left wrist of the hand holding a candle, has the following letters on it, neither more nor less :—

LPVRINENIPEPNEIFANT.

The dress is girdled below the breasts (which on one side and the other are shown in very graceful curves) with a blue belt having letters on it, in gold, which are :—

NARMPRLMOTARE

The mantle falls over the shoulders, and is fastened across the breast with a red cord the length of a span, the knot being on the left-hand side. The colour of the mantle is perfectly blue, sown with golden flowers above and below.

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[1] The distance from the end of the thumb to the end of the fore-finger.

[2] *Geroiguilla.*

The border of the mantle is of gold, embroidered with red letters in the ancient Latin character. Those on the right-hand side are :—

OLM . INRANFR . IAEBNPFM . RFYEN
NVINAPIMLIFINVIPI . NIPIAN

On the left side the letters are :—

FVPMIRNA . ENVPMTI . EPNMPIR . VRVIVINRN . APVIMFRI
PIVNIAN . NTRHN

On the back part of the border of the mantle there are letters—thus

NBIMEI . ANNEIPERFMIVIFVF.

Such is the description of this holy image, which has been so many years in this island since it first appeared, it being 190 years since its appearance. It has been taken from one place to another, carried a thousand times in processions, dressed and undressed, for one cannot desist from handling it (and in order to write this account I saw it undressed). This day being the 25th of October, 1590, the figure was so fair and beautiful, the gold and shades of colour so perfect, that it looked as if it had only been made a few days ago. One thing I admired in this image, which is worthy of admiration, and must cause astonishment in those who consider it. It is that being without clothes, except those in which it first appeared, the face is so exactly proportioned to the stature by exact geometrical measurement that there is nothing more to seek. Yet, dressed as it now usually is, which increases its size and height by nearly 3 *palmos*,[1] the proportion (wonderful to relate), is equally perfect, as we all saw, and considered it to be a small miracle.

The letters and characters on the borders and belt may be understood by those who are more practised than I am,

[1] 2 feet.

but they will have to exercise their ingenuity, and it is not little that will be required of them, for up to this time no one has been able to understand their meaning. The letters have been sent to many places and kingdoms, to many learned doctors, and to those versed in various languages. Some have said that they have no meaning, and were only used for ornament. This they said so as not to confess that they could not understand them. But I, who am willing to make such a confession, am of opinion that they have a meaning, and that they treat of some excellent qualities of this Virgin, who is not now served by our understanding them, as we are unworthy. For ornaments, other patterns might have been used more easily and tastefully than letters. Besides, the letters must be intended to have a meaning, because they are divided by points, showing that they run successively. Nor would some letters be joined with others, as is seen. This all remains for the exercise of ingenious minds.[1]

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[1] Gonzalo Argote de Molina, "Provincial de la Hermandad del Andalusia," and Regidor of Seville, was a well-known writer, who died in 1600. The lettering on the image was sent to him, and he hazarded an interpretation. TIEP F SEPMERI he makes to be the initial letters of words forming the following sentence: "*Tu illustra es Patri Filio Spiritui sancto et pia mater ejus Redemptoris Jesu.* NARMPRLMOTARE is explained by him as "*Nostrum altissimum regem Maria peperit redidit libertatem Maria omnibus testis a Regi Erebi.*" LVPR represents "*Lucem perpetuam vobis reddidi.*" Then follows NIPEPFEIFANT, which is interpreted "*Ista nequaquam Nivariæ in perpetuus effugiet pio nomine evocato Insulæ Fortunatæ adversarius nullum.*"

Argote de Molina was the editor of *Conde Lucanor*, the work of the Prince Juan Manuel, with a life prefixed. Ticknor says that this edition is one of the rarest books in the world. He also edited *The Embassy of Clavijo to Timour*: wrote an important work, *La Nobleza de Andalusia*, and the *Chronicle of Alfonso XI.* Some of his letters to Zurita, the historian, have been preserved. He was buried in the church of Santiago, at Seville, in 1600. The interpretation of the letterings of the holy image of Candelaria by this learned antiquary are at least very ingenious. But he has only tackled three inscriptions out of eight.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of some other Images which, it is said, have appeared in this Island.

ONE of the excellent things in which this island excels the others, besides the fertility of the soil, the mildness of the climate, the abundance of the fruit, the grandeur and richness of the edifices, has been the appearance of so many sacred relics which have worked such miracles. This is no small mercy that God has shown to this island, nor a slight responsibility that is placed on the people, to show how they have profited by such holiness, so many miracles, and so many advocates and mediators.

The most ancient and principal image and relic that has appeared on the island is that of Candelaria, which has already been described.

There is another image of Our Lady in Garachico, whose appearance took place as follows: Many years after the island had been conquered, some boatmen belonging to Orotava went to fish under the lee of Gomera, in a vessel belonging to Gonzalo Bravo, a resident of that place. They arrived at an anchorage in the neighbourhood of Adexe, which, owing to the circumstance we are about to relate, was called "Nuestra Señora." Here they found an image of Our Lady, of carved wood, with a child in its arms on the left side. Well satisfied with their find, they got into the boat with the intention of returning to their town, and placing it in the church. But God had another intention: for though they started with a smooth sea and a fair wind, they encountered such a storm off Garachico that they were obliged to run into that port. As soon as they were inside, the wind ceased and the sea went down. So they continued their voyage, but as soon as they were outside they again encountered a tempest. Again they

were obliged to return to the port, where, after taking counsel, they resolved to take the image on shore, and convey it as secretly as possible by land. But they could not do this so quietly as that it should not come to the knowledge of the people of Garachico; and though the boatmen covered it up, wrapping it in a cloak and with a red cap, this was not a sufficient disguise. The Garachicos got it into their hands, and put it in their parish church, where it now is. A few days afterwards, some Portuguese arrived from the islands below,[1] who recognised the image, and said that it had been on the island of Fogo, and that a little before it had disappeared from there.

They also relate how the image of San Marcos, which is at Icod, first appeared. They found it in a bay near that town, which, from its having appeared there, was called the bay of San Marcos. It was supposed that it came from the same place as the other, having been found at about the same time.

They say that another image was found on the beach near Abono, about a *palmo* long. It is called Our Lady of the Cut. All these images I have seen, and they are held in great veneration. Some miracles are imputed to them which I do not mention, because they are not included in the subject of my writing.

Besides these images which appeared, there are others which receive much devotion, and which have worked many miracles.

Our Lady of the Guide is in the bad country of Hissora, between Santiago and Adexe. It is an image which receives much devotion, and to which miracles are ascribed. There is also the image of the blessed San Amaro or Mauro. It is like the one in the hermitage of Rosario, on the road to Candelaria, which, though not

[1] Cape Verds.

very beautiful, works many miracles, as may be seen by the number of feet, arms, and bodies that have been presented to it, of which the hermitage is full. Another figure of the same saint is in the convent of friars preachers of San Pedro at Daute, which is said to work miracles and is much venerated.

In the town of Icod there is an image of the blessed San Gonzalo de Amarante, a Portuguese saint of the order of San Domingo, for which all the people in the island feel deep devotion, and come in pilgrimages almost every year, by reason of the numberless miracles worked for every kind of person, who are cured of their diseases by his intercession. Of the miracles which Our Lord has wrought through this saint, I have in my possession many authenticated cases, to which I give full credit.

There is also another image of this same San Gonzalo in the convent of San Domingo, in the city of Laguna, which has worked some miracles.

CHAPTER XV.

Of a very Holy Image of a Christ which is in this Island.

I SHOULD be to blame if, in mentioning the principal images in the island, I omitted the crucifix, which is so sacred and held in such esteem. At the same time it is very difficult to disenchant the simple people who have conceived such ideas about it. They declare that its origin is unknown, that it was brought by angels, that its hair and nails grew, that one tooth is wanting which was knocked out when Christ was buffeted ; and other things of the same kind which are absurdities, but agreeable to the simple people whose piety leads them to believe stories without foundation.

But for men of learning and judgment these tales are scandalous and to be avoided. In order that this ignorance may be dispelled, and that the truth may be known and made manifest, I have investigated this question, and got to the root of the matter, with the help of old and trustworthy persons, and of Father Fray Bartolomé Casanova, Provincial of the order of San Francis in these islands, who has had a long statement made before public notaries. He told me *vivâ voce*, on November 2nd of this year, 1590, what I now write down.

After the island had been conquered and pacified, when the Adelantado Don Alonso de Lugo went to Spain, among other companions and gentlemen that he took with him was one Juan Benitez, whose grandchildren and other descendants are now living, much respected. The said Adelantado had been with the said Juan Benitez in some dangerous warlike operations, such as that of Salsos, and others in France. The two, wishing to return to the islands, went to Barcelona to see whether they could be accommodated with the necessary funds, either by exchanges or loans, so as to make the voyage. Being unable to attain their object, they found themselves in a position which caused anxiety. Juan Benitez was devoted to the Archangel Michael, to whom he prayed in all his necessities. One day, when they were both pensive and oppressed at not being able to return, a man came to them whom they had never seen before, and asked them the cause of their sadness, and of their absence from their home and government. The Adelantado replied that it was the want of money which made cowards of men. The good man offered to provide it. They made their explanations, and he gave them what they needed. This man appeared no more, nor did the receipts they had given him, by which it was understood that this had been the glorious St. Michael, the advocate and object of devotion of Benitez.

At this time there arrived at Barcelona a very richly-freighted Venetian ship, and among the other valuables it contained, the most important were certain crucifixes which the merchant and owner of the ship had bought from another merchant who had brought them from the Holy Land to Venice. Having sold one, the merchant brought two to Barcelona. When they were landed, there were many who wanted to buy them. At this time Juan Benitez arrived at Barcelona, and seeing the images of the Crucified, he wished to buy one. He spoke to the Adelantado, who did not then give a favourable reply, because that man had not then lent them that money, nor was it known how much he would lend. But as it all happened at about the same time, Juan Benitez took some of that money without counting it, and went to the merchant to treat with him for the purchase of the crucifix. He asked 100 ducats for it, but eventually agreed to take 60. Putting his hand into his purse, and not finding enough, Benitez went to his house for the rest, and took money until there was enough to pay 60 ducats without one being missing, and without anything being left; at which he remained not a little surprised.

When the Adelantado knew of the purchase he sent the crucifix in a ship to Cadiz, and from Cadiz in another to this island. It was placed in the convent of the glorious San Francisco, where, up to the present time, it has been reverenced and venerated as one of the most sacred crucifixes that have been seen in these parts. We do not know that it has worked any miracle, and if it has, as it has not (so far as I know) been testified before a notary, nor approved by episcopal authority, I should not dare to affirm it.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

ARGUMENT

OF THE

THIRD BOOK.

Proceed, my pen, though by the way,
Faults mar the famous tale.
Stern warfare I must now portray,
How knights the land assail,
Until by conquest turmoils cease.
A sanguinary road,
Yet giving Nivaria peace,
The virgin's blest abode.

THIRD BOOK.

THE CONQUEST OF TENERIFE, AND OF WHAT HAPPENED THERE DOWN TO THE YEAR 1558.

CHAPTER I.

Of the Discovery of this Island.

ALTHOUGH it was not my intention nor the principal object of this work, to be the historian of the island, I cannot refrain from touching upon this part of the subject to a certain extent, in order to give clearness to the whole composition. I do not thus go beyond my subject, the whole being directed to one end.

I am the more moved to undertake a narrative of this part of my history, because, although there are many historians who have written respecting the other islands, such as the Doctor Fiesco, in Canaria, who is writing a voluminous and curious history of that island ; the engineer Leonardo Turian, who, with subtle genius and much art, composes a description of the islands, and others whose works have not yet seen the light, they make so little mention of Tenerife, that it may almost be considered nothing, although there is so much to say. All this causes

the absence of curiosity respecting the natives and settlers. To relieve the island of this opprobrium, I desired to undertake the work, although tardily and with the danger of malicious tongues. But there is no glory to be gained without risk and hard work.

From what has already been said, it is clear that those of the other islands had information respecting this one, for they effected landings on it and incursions.

The lord of the other islands, who was Diego de Herrera (as will be seen further on), having received reports of the fertility of Tenerife, and knowing the forces that could be collected by the natives, against which he had not the men to effect an entry by violence and to conquer the island, wished to negotiate treaties with the lords, and in this way to gain his end. He, therefore, came to the coast on the 12th of July, 1464, to the port of Bufadero, where the nine lords of the island assembled. These were the great Overlord Imobach of Taoro, the Lord of "Las Lanzadas," who was called Lord of Guimar, the Lord of Anaga, the Lord of Abona, the Lord of Tacaronte, the Lord of Tegueste, and the Lords of Icod, Adexe, and Daute. They treated of peace and friendship, and signed an agreement with the said Diego de Herrera, before Fernando de Parraga, public notary. To some extent they promised obedience, as is shown by the public act; but no town or fort of any kind was founded at that time. The Spaniards returned, and the island was left in peace.

After some years, Sancho de Hererra, a son of the above, came to the island with the object of gaining and settling in it. He landed at the port of Santa Cruz, in the lordship of Anaga, the native name of which was Añazo.[1] Here, with permission from the natives, they

[1] The site of Santa Cruz is here said to be in the territory of Anaga. In another place it appears to be in that of Tegueste. No doubt it was close to the boundary between the two.

built a tower in which he and his followers lived, and there the natives came to trade and have intercourse with the Christians. It happened that the Spaniards stole some animals from a flock, which the natives resented, and they complained to Sancho de Herrera of his vassals. To maintain the friendship agreed to with the natives, a law was made that if a Christian committed any offence against the natives, he should be delivered to them to work their will upon him ; and that if a native ill-treated a Spaniard, the same should be done to him. This law having been made, the Spaniards came under it, owing to I know not what offence done to the Guanches, who made their complaint of the injury received. Sancho de Herrera then delivered up the offenders, in compliance with what had been agreed upon, that they might execute justice on the Spaniards.

The Lord of Anaga, treating them with clemency, did not wish to do them any harm, and sent them back unhurt to their captain. Many days had not passed before the Guanches committed a fault, having done some wrong to the Spaniards. The Lord prevented a quarrel by at once giving up the culprits. But it did not happen to them as it had done to the Spaniards, for Sancho de Herrera ordered them to be hanged without mercy. The natives were unable to endure such cruel executions which had been perpetrated in their own land by the strangers. They rose against the Spaniards, breaking the peace that had been agreed upon, and attacking the fort. They destroyed it, killing several who were found in it, and Sancho de Herrera, with his followers, was obliged to abandon the island, and return to his own with some loss.

CHAPTER II.

How the Kings Don Fernando and Doña Isabel bought the Islands of Canaria, Tenerife and Palma.

In the year 1417,[1] at the prayer and request of Moser Rubin de Bracamonte, Admiral of France, the King Don Juan II[2] granted the conquest of those seven islands to a French knight named Monsieur Jean de Betencourt, with the title of King of Canaria, and as Bishop of them he named Fray Mendo who went there and saw them all. The said Monsieur Jean de Betencourt, having easily subdued the islands of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, made his abode in Lanzarote, whence he began the conquest of the other islands. He commenced with Gomera and Hierro, because they were less populous, and therefore easier to subdue.

On the death of this knight, his rights were inherited by a relation named Monsieur Menaut de Betencourt[3] who ill-treated his vassals, and they made a complaint against him to the King Don Juan, who, having received the information, sent Pedro Barba,[4] with three armed vessels, to take the government from Menaut. After some trouble, they came to an agreement, and Pedro Barba bought the islands and the conquest of them, with the approval of the King Don Juan and of the Queen Doña Catalina, his mother. Pedro Barba sold them to Hernan Perez, a knight of Seville, from whom they say that the Duke of Medina Sidonia held them. They were next sold to Guillen de las Casas, from whom they were bought by Hernan Peraça, father of Doña Inez Peraça, who inherited them. She married Diego de Herrera, brother of the Marshal Lord of

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[1] The year was 1404.

[2] Henry III, father of Juan II.

[3] Maciot.

[4] Pedro Barba de Campos, Lord of Castro Forte.

Ampudia, Don Diego de Ayala. The Herrera family being in possession, their vassals made complaints to the Royal Council of certain injuries they had received. Their petition having been considered by the Council, an order was sent to Doña Inez Peraça, as proprietary lady of the islands, to come personally to the court to defend herself. As she called herself Queen of the Canary Islands, and this was the first time she had been to court, she embarked at Lanzarote with the best company she could get together, and presented herself before the Kings Don Fernando and Doña Isabel. Having kissed hands, she presented her defence, and a law-suit was commenced in the Royal Council. During its course, the kings became aware that Diego de Herrera and Doña Inez did not possess the possibility or the means of conquering the remaining islands, which were Canaria, Tenerife, and Palma. Their Highnesses, therefore, decided to purchase the rights for 6 quentos de maravedis; and that the Herreras should sell and give up their rights they held in these islands to the royal crown of Castille, retaining the other islands of Gomera, Hierro, Lanzarote, and Fuerteventura, which are possessed by their descendants. The three best islands, of which we are about to treat, became the patrimony of the crown.

CHAPTER III.

Of some inroads that were made into this Island before the coming of Alonso de Lugo.

SOME years having passed since the above purchase, the Governor of Canaria, a knight of Xeres, named Pedro de Vera, having subjugated that island in 1483, came to the conclusion that, in order that Canaria might continue quiet and in peace, it would be well to get the principal and most valiant of the natives out of that island by engaging

them in the conquest of Tenerife. With this object he embarked, with the greater part of the Canarians and a force of Spaniards. He came to this island. I do not know at what port he landed, but he prepared his Canarians by telling them that if they fought like men, and were loyal, they would receive great benefits, and the king, their lord, would show them much favour. This was declared to them by Guillen Castellano, the interpreter. Seeing that the Governor showed them goodwill, they made an entry into the island, and captured many people with their flocks. For the object was not to found a colony, but to give employment to the Canarians. The Governor embarked with his captives, and ordered that all the Canarians should embark in another ship commanded by his son, Hernando de Vera, who, during the night, parted company and took the route to Spain, taking the Canarians with him. But he did not reach Spain on that voyage, nor did he succeed in his intention, as will be seen in the history of Canaria.

Some years afterwards, owing to the death of Don Juan de Frias, Bishop of Canaria, Fray Miguel de la Serna was promoted to the See. The new Bishop looked upon it as a serious thing that Pedro de Vera should have sold and delivered as captives the people of Gomera, on the death of their Lord Hernan Peraça, husband of Doña Leonor de Bobadilla. He made a criminal accusation against the Governor before their Highnesses, that being Christians and not culprits, he had committed an offence against them. In consequence of this, the said Governor, Pedro de Vera, was recalled to Spain by the Catholic kings.

Pedro de Vera was succeeded by Francisco Maldonado. The new Governor wished to make an entry into this island, and sent a knight of Seville, named Pedro Hernandez de Saavedra, to reconnoitre. Don Pedro was married to Doña Constanza Sarmiento, daughter of Diego de Herrera and of Doña Inez Peraça. He was at Lan-

zarote, and it was arranged that he and the Governor should act jointly. Having united their forces, they embarked and came to Tenerife, where they landed. Francisco Maldonado, having no experience of these invasions, advanced against the Guanches, who were prepared, for the ships arrived in the daytime, and were seen before the Spaniards disembarked. Maldonado had his men in such bad order when he made the attack, that the Guanches defeated and routed them, with a loss of forty men. If the troops of Pedro Hernandez de Saavedra had not been in much better order, much more harm would have been done. Pedro Hernandez rallied the fugitives, and made such a good stand that he repulsed the disorderly advance of the Guanches. He collected all the men of Canaria, and with them he recovered as much ground as was possible. But seeing that this time nothing profitable could be done, they embarked again, having suffered much loss.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the first coming of Alonso de Lugo to this Island.

WHEN peace was established in the Island of Canaria, several attacks were made on Tenerife, as has been mentioned: for it was seen that it was fertile and thickly inhabited, with a great number of flocks; for at the time that the Spaniards first came there were over 200,000 head of goats and sheep.

The knights of the conquests were anxious to win renown, and to see new lands; so they sought means for the conquest of Tenerife and of Palma. One of these was Alonso de Lugo, brother-in-law of the wife of Pedro del Algava, former Governor of Canaria, who was beheaded, on false accusations and information by the

Captain Juan Rejon. This knight of whom I am treating, Alonso de Lugo, was in the conquest of Canaria almost from the very beginning, and, as a man renowned for his valour, he had the charge and tenancy of the tower of Agaete, that he might subdue that part. He was very dexterous in this war, and from the side of Agaete he had made several entries into Tenerife. Thus he had some knowledge of the people. Moved by the execution of the said Governor, although it was some time since it took place, Alonso de Lugo went to Court, to petition for justice against the said Juan Rejon. There he received the news that his enemy was dead, having been killed by Hernan Peraça. He, therefore, desisted from the prosecution. Alonso de Lugo then procured from their Majesties the conquests of Tenerife and Palma, which had been granted to Juan Rejon. It was at the time when the conquest of Granada had been completed, and so his affair was quickly despatched, for the Kings then had more leisure. Alonso de Lugo offered to undertake the said conquest at his own cost, and that of his friends, and their Majesties gave him the title of Governor of the Conquest and Captain-General of the parts of Africa from the Cape of Aguer to the Cape Bojador. The islands being conquered, he was to be partitioner of the lands jointly with another, who would be named by their Majesties. This was arranged then; but on the 5th of November, 1496, power was sent to him to divide the land without a colleague, which he did.

Having obtained the concessions, Alonso de Lugo was joined by many persons of note. Among these were Hernando del Hoyo, of the royal household; Pedro de Vergara, Hieronimo de Valdes, son of Pedro de Algava, also of the royal household; Bartolomé Benitez, Pedro Benitez, the one-eyed, a man well disposed and most valiant, with many others. They came to Gran Canaria,

where, having raised their banner, they were joined by many soldiers, as well among the Spanish conquerors as among the native Canarians. Among the latter were Guadarteme, Maninidra, Gonzalo Mendez Castellano, Pedro Mayor, Pedro de Eruas, Thomé de Armas, Juan Dara (whose former name was Dutindana), Juan Pascual, with many others. They made for the island of Palma, which, owing to the cowardice of the natives, was soon conquered. Leaving some of their people to settle there, they returned, after a prosperous voyage, to Gran Canaria. Troops and necessary stores were collected for the next enterprise, and they set out with more than a thousand soldiers in a small fleet for Tenerife.

They entered the port which is called Santa Cruz, and landed in May, 1493, with little opposition on the part of those on shore, though not without some skirmishes and encounters. Thence they ascended the *cuesta*, marching to Laguna, where the camp was formed at the place where the hermitage called "Of Grace" was afterwards founded. It was in the lordship of Tegueste.

Acaimo, the Lord of Guimar, came to confirm the treaties he had made with Diego de Herrera and other captains; for this Lord (by reason of the image of Candelaria which he had in his possession) was always friendly to the Christians. He supplied the Governor of the Conquest, Alonso de Lugo, with information respecting the number of men that the Overlord of Taoro, named Quebihi[1] Bencomo, had with him.

It was not long before the said Overlord Bencomo, being a courageous man, who had already gained experience of the Spanish forces in previous encounters, and not thinking much of them, came in person, with only 300 men, to see the Governor, and to ascertain the

[1] *Quebehi* means Highness or Sovereign.

object of his coming; for he had remained longer than on former occasions.

The Governor said, through his interpreter, Guillen Castellano, that he came to obtain the Overlord's friendship, to require that he and his people should become Christians, as those of the other neighbouring islands had done, and that they should submit themselves as subjects to the King of Spain, that they might receive many benefits under his rule and protection. The Overlord replied, not like a barbarian, but like the man of discretion that he was—for this dignity of Sovereign brings discretion with it. As regards the request for friendship, he said that no one who was not provoked or irritated by another need fly or seek refuge, and that this was well understood; and that he would grant the request willingly if the Spaniards would depart and leave them in peace; in which case he would gladly serve them with what they needed. As for being Christians, he did not know what Christianity was, nor did he understand that religion. If he was informed respecting it, he could with more intelligence give an answer. As to being subject to the King of Spain, the proposal did not appear to him to be reasonable, for he had never acknowledged subjection to another man. After some other discussion between them, which settled nothing, the Overlord returned with his followers to Taoro, leaving our people in their camp.

CHAPTER V.

Of the Battle between the Spaniards and the Guanches at Centejo, and the slaughter which took place.

IT is an acknowledged fact, both as regards divine and human right, that the wars waged by the Spaniards against the natives of these islands, as well as against the Indians

in the western regions, were unjust and without any reason to support them. For the natives had not taken the lands of Christians, nor had they gone beyond their own frontier to molest or invade their neighbours. If it is said that the Spaniards brought the Gospel, this should have been done by admonition and preaching—not by drum and banner ; by persuasion, not by force.

But this subject has been discussed elsewhere. I pass on, and return to the history. The Governor of the Conquest, Alonso de Lugo, thinking less of the power of the natives than he should have done, and seeing that the Overlord of Taoro would not submit, but was resolved to await and resist him, without further deliberation commenced his march towards the Lordship of Taoro. He thought that when this Overlord was conquered and subdued, being the most powerful, the others would come to terms and surrender. But " he who despises his enemy, falls by his hands."[1] The Lords of Anaga, Tacaronte, and Tegueste, through whose territories the Spaniards had passed, offered no resistance with all their power, though they made some feints and attacks. They either saw our numbers and power, or they left us to advance farther to await further opportunities for their own ends. So the forces continued to march to Orotava without meeting with any resistance. There they found a great multitude of flocks. They collected a large number of sheep, and began to return with their spoils, thinking that the Guanches did not dare to attack them. But Bencomo, the Overlord of Taoro, was on the watch, and neglected nothing. He waited for an opportunity to strike a blow. Seeing that the enemies believed that they were returning victorious, he quickly assembled 300 of his bravest men under the command of his brother,[2] a daring and spirited leader, with

[1] *Quien a su enemigo popa a sus manco muere.*
[2] His name was Tinguaro.

orders to keep in line with the Spaniards on the heights above them, and to attack them in a rugged pass, while he followed them with the rest of his force. The Overlord's brother was not negligent in carrying out his orders. Taking the higher slopes, he waited for the Governor and his people to arrive at a point where they would not be able to make use of their cavalry. It was the mounted soldiers that the natives most feared, and this was the main strength of their enemies. The locality chosen was a place thickly overgrown with trees, on ascending ground, much broken by rocks and ravines. From this point they made an outcry, and whistled to their flocks which our men were carrying off. When the Spaniards saw themselves in such a dangerous place, where the knights could not avail themselves of their arms, nor make use of their horses, that the natives held the passes, and that to turn back would be to deliver themselves into the hands of their enemies, pushed forward the vanguard well in front. The main body was broken and thrown into confusion, because the flocks, hearing the whistle, had got loose. The rear-guard pressed forward to join the main body, which, on the previous day, had raised its hopes very high.

One of the Canarians who came with the Captain, a very brave man named Pedro Maninidra, and on whose services the Spaniards set a huge price, on seeing the place where they were, and the small chance he saw of conquering, being in front of the Governor's horse, his whole body began to tremble so that his teeth chattered. The Governor of the Conquest noticed his condition, and said, "How is this, Maninidra? Do you tremble from fear? Is this a time for fear?" The Canarian answered: "I do not tremble from fear, which I never felt, but my flesh trembles considering the danger in which the heart will have to put it this day." Others say that this saying, though it was spoken by the Canarian, was not uttered at

this time, but during another expedition that was made into Barbary, in which he served.

The Christians, thus forced into a conflict, did not know what counsel to take. Some blamed the Governor, who had been advised by the Canarians not to go so far into the country without securing his retreat, because the Guanches would take advantage of the bad passes, but he held them too cheap ; or else God saw fit that, as a punishment, he should not take the advice. Others say that the blasphemy of certain soldiers was the reason that God allowed this loss and punishment of the Spaniards. For some said that, although the place was dangerous, yet the enemies were few and unarmed, and that, fighting as they ought, they would conquer with the help of God. They spoke like Christian knights, but one answered unlike a Christian. He said : "I swear to God that I think we shall conquer without His aid, for with such wretched people, and so few of them, we do not need His aid." But this knight was not saved, nor did he gain a victory, trusting in his own strength and valour. The contrary happened.

The Guanches fell upon the Spaniards in this difficult pass when they were tired, and unable to join forces or to use their arms with dexterity, although they did their duty and fought valiantly—the position being against them, so was their fortune. They were defeated, and there was a great slaughter among them. Hence the name of the place is "La Matanza de Centejo."

The Captain of the fighting men of Taoro, seeing that the Spaniards were put to flight, and that his people were committing a butchery among them, sat down on a stone well satisfied. In a short time the Overlord of Taoro came up with the rest of his forces, to show the leader favour. But when he found his brother sitting on a stone, and taking it so easily, he reprehended him—"How is it that you are so careless, while your men go

amongst their enemies?" The brother answered with much heaviness, "I have done my duty as Captain, in winning the battle. The butchers now do theirs, completing the victory which I secured for them."

A remarkable thing happened in this battle, which was that the blasphemous soldier who made that wicked speech, when the natives began to fall upon our people, came to the front with his arms and horse, a little apart from the squadron, which was in disorder owing to the flight of the sheep. A Guanche came along the road to him, and, throwing a dart which wounded the horse, it fell to the ground. The Guanche then stood over the knight, and put an end to him ignominiously in payment for his blasphemy. He was the first that they killed. Thus God punishes those who do not put their trust in Him.

CHAPTER VI.

How those who escaped from the rout went to Santa Cruz.

MUCH reputation which the Spaniards had in the eyes of the natives was lost on that day, because they did not wait for their enemies on open ground where they would have had advantage of position, and because they carelessly penetrated into the land without securing the dangerous passes. Thus they lost the opportunity, their reputation, the battle, and many lives. Nearly 900 men were killed at the hands of their enemies. This was the greatest loss that was suffered in these islands, whereby God saw fit to chastise the haughtiness and pride of the Spaniards, exceeding that of all other nations. For only 300 Guanches, naked men without iron or defensive arms, gave them such an assault that they abandoned their camp to the assailants, who spared none that fell into their power; so that it was by great good luck that any

escaped. One of these was the leader of the Conquest, Alonso de Lugo, who was brought to the port of Santa Cruz, on horseback, by some Canarians and thirty Guanches of the lordship of Guimar, who formed an escort. But he did not escape unhurt, losing several teeth from the blow of a stone hurled at him, and his horse being killed. If Pedro Benitez, the one-eyed, had not come to his rescue he would have fared badly, for he was surrounded by Guanches; but his friend provided another horse, which was loose, having left its master on the field, and helped him to mount it. The Governor was also saved through having changed his clothes with a soldier, thus entering the battle undistinguished from the others; for the natives had seen him before the conflict began, and immediately began to seek for him. They soon came upon the unlucky soldier who had changed clothes, taking him for the Governor.

The Spanish knights and some of the Canarians fought very bravely; but, above all, Pedro Benitez performed such valorous deeds that the Guanches said that if there had been more like him the disaster would have been averted. He escaped, and others through his means. There also escaped Pedro de Vergara, Hernando del Hoyo, Bartolomé Benitez, Hieronimo de Valdes, Guillen Castellanado, and Juan Benitez. Some were left for dead among the dead. All had fought like knights. Twenty-eight or thirty others also escaped, and hid in a cave near the sea, which only had one small opening on a ledge. About ninety Canarians concealed themselves among rocks near the sea, and others in a thicket of reeds. The Governor and knights who escaped from the rout and reached Santa Cruz, presently sent boats along the coast to rescue others who had escaped. In this way the ninety Canarians were saved. The Overlord of Taoro, when he knew of the Spaniards being in the cave, sent to

order them to come out, and to rely on his word. When they arrived he treated them well, and sent them with an escort to Santa Cruz, to be delivered safely to their captain. This was done. It happened that on the way to Santa Cruz, having to pass over the ground where the slaughter had taken place, there was a Spaniard who, either from fear of death or from not having any way of escaping with his life, not knowing the way by which he could get away from that slaughter and defeat, had remained among the dead bodies, waiting for what might befal. When the twenty-eight or thirty Spaniards passed that way, whom the Overlord was sending to Santa Cruz, this man got up and joined himself to the rest without being seen by those who were escorting them. When, soon afterwards, they came to a halting-place, and the Spaniards were counted, it was found that there was one too many. Wishing to kill him, but not knowing which of them it was, they sent the news to the King, for fear of killing one of those whom he had released. The Overlord ordered them all to be brought back, and, on looking them over, he presently saw which was the new one. Having heard how he had escaped, he pardoned him, thinking that he had suffered enough already from having had dead bodies for his companions for so long. Thus they all again set out in peace and safety, the Overlord giving orders that no harm whatever should be done to them.

This was the end of the first battle fought by the Spaniards on this island. Although it was disastrous, it was the fortune of war, and was an event for which no blame need attach to the men, the luck being against them. Far more ignominious to Spaniards was their perfidious and faithless treatment of their allies. They sent to their allies, being those of the lordship of Guimar, with deceit and treachery, telling them to assemble that steps might be taken to prevent the Overlord of Taoro

from injuring their lands for having joined the Spaniards and helped them in the battle, while they would be caught, believing it to be as it was stated. Many came in peace, condoling with the Spaniards at their defeat. The Spaniards invited these allies to come on board the ships to see them, and, as soon as they were on board, sail was made, and a great many were carried off in this way, to be sold as slaves. The Spaniards thought they might thus repair their fortunes, which is against all reason. Some of those who were sold as slaves, being now taken inland, went to the kings to ask for justice and liberty; explaining that, being free in their own country, they had been carried off to where they now were, by treachery, and sold as slaves, being free men, friends, and allies. The kings ordered that they should be set free, and remain free.

A curious event is narrated as having taken place after the battle and defeat we have just described. When the spoils were being collected from the dead bodies, some Guanches found, among other arms and articles of clothing, a cross-bow ready for use. Its owner not having had an opportunity of using it, it had remained on the field with its dead master. Not knowing what kind of weapon it was, as they had never seen one before in their lives, nor had they any knowledge of the key, nor of what injury it might do if it was discharged, they gave it many turns, and pulled it about, without knowing what they were doing; at last one of them pressed the key: the shaft was let off, struck one of them on the breast, and he fell dead. His companions, who saw what had happened, dropped the cross-bow, and fled as if they were pursued by enemies. From that time forward, when they saw a cross-bow, they made a great round from the place where it was, so fearful were they of its power.

CHAPTER VII.

Of the Second Invasion of this Island by the Spaniards.

UNDERTAKINGS which are not founded on the will of God, and directed with a view to His honour and service, or guided by His hand, are seldom or ever attended with success. For as they wander from the truth which is God, so they come to a disastrous end. It was well seen, in the last chapter, how the enterprise of the Spaniards failed ignominiously, because the object and aim which influenced them to undertake the conquest was rather their own interests than the honour of God and the spread of His evangel. This was clear from their treatment of allies and friends, seizing them when they came on the faith of peace and amity, and embarking them to sell as slaves. Such being the treatment they extended to friends, they found themselves in the end with hands on their heads, and in very sorrowful case.

The Governor, Alonso de Lugo, felt bound in honour not to abandon what had already cost so many lives and loss of reputation. Although much straitened by the excessive cost of the expedition, which had all been incurred at his own expense, without help from anyone, and for this he had sold estate, lands and possessions which he had in Galdar, as conqueror of that part of Canaria. Leaving as strong a garrison as was possible at Santa Cruz, in a tower which he had built there, he departed for Canaria.

Those he left in the tower were in such a state of alarm that they did not dare to come out to seek for food when they were in want of it, except at night.

When the Governor arrived at Canaria he did not find the soldiers he required, nor had he the means of equipping them, as he had done those who formed the

first expedition. He, therefore, made an agreement with four Genoese merchants, of whom some were in Canaria and some in Spain, that as contractors they should advance money and supplies. The four contractors were Francisco de Palomar, Guillermo de Blanco, Nicolas Angelate and Mateo Viña. These altogether and each one separately gave powers to Gonzalo Suarez de Magueda, a resident in Puerto de Santa Maria, who was then in the city of Las Palmas in Canaria, that in his name he should enlist such persons who might wish to help in the conquest of the said island, with 600 men and thirty horses. After the costs, and a fifth for taking slaves and live stock, the remainder to be divided—half for the soldiers, and the other half for the contractors. These powers were given in Canaria on the 13th of June of the year 1494, before Gonzalo Garcia de la Puebla, public notary.

With these powers and credits the said Gonzalo Suarez departed for Spain, and applied to Don Juan Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, who, seeing the service that would be done to God by bringing a knowledge of the evangel to the people of that island, and to the Royal Crown by subjugating the island, made writing and agreements with the said Gonzalo Suarez in the names of the said contractors. The Duke then proceeded to engage men, and on the 3rd of October of the same year 650 foot and forty horse soldiers embarked at San Lucar de Barrameda—fine men, and many of them well born—in six caravels. The captain of this helping force was a knight named Bartolomé de Estopiñan, a follower of the Duke. They did not sail until the 22nd of the said year, and, after a prosperous voyage, they arrived at Canaria on the 29th. In the interval the Governor of the Conquest had not been idle. On his part he had collected as many men as he could, as well natives of Canaria, Gomera and

Mahoreros,[1] as Spaniards. Of the latter some were relations and friends of those who survived from the first expedition; others joined for the first time. Among the latter were Hernando de Truxillo, a knight of Xeres; Lopez Fernandez de la Guerra, a conqueror of Canaria; Vallejo, Hernando de Llarena, Mateo Viñan, Gorge Grimon, Juan Perdomo, Gonzalo Mexia, and Lope de Aguirre. There were also those who escaped from the first defeat called the "Matanza," except Bartolomé Benitez de Lugo, who remained so exhausted from the effects of the first invasion, in which he was engaged, that he had no wish to return to the island until after it had been conquered. There were many others, whom we shall name further on.

As soon as the reinforcements sent by the Duke arrived, the expedition sailed for Tenerife. On the 2nd of November of the said year they anchored off Santa Cruz, where they had anchored before. Jumping on shore, they raised their standard, with the determination not to leave the island again, but to win it or die.

Among the mounted knights sent by the Duke to reinforce were Diego de Mesa, Francisco de Mesa, Gonzalo Castillo, Alonzo de Alforo, Jaime Joven, Alonzo Benitez, Alonso de las hijas Estrada, and many others.

This time the Governor of the Conquest had under his banner a thousand infantry and sixty or seventy cavalry, all strong and good men.

They began in the name of God, on whom all things and all enterprises must rely. Leaving a good reserve in Santa Cruz, the force began the march upwards in better order than on the former occasion. On arriving at Our Lady of Grace, the force offered up prayers, and sought the favour of God. They continued the march to Laguna in

[1] Natives of Lançarote and Fuerteventura.

order of battle, where they came in sight of the enemy. The people of the island had been summoned, and great numbers were assembled from all parts.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Battle between the Spaniards and Guanches at Laguna.

THE natives had been made so proud and haughty by their victory (which was caused more by the visitation of God and His permission than by their valour) that they thought little of our people, and did not esteem them as before. As they were better armed than on the previous occasion, from having availed themselves of those arms which the Spaniards lost at the defeat of Centejo, they had more confidence, audacity, and daring. They had sent out scouts to ascertain the intentions of our troops when they landed at Santa Cruz, that they might know when we intended to march and ascend the *cuesta*, where they might attack us and gain an advantage by the celerity of their movements. But it did not turn out as they proposed, either through the carelessness of their scouts, or through their inability to advance in time, so that our troops ascended the *cuesta* and formed on the high ground without opposition. Seeing that their first plan had not succeeded as they intended, the Guanches formed another, with the object of destroying the Spaniards on that day. It was to offer battle to their enemy, and to prevent any from escaping by stationing three or four hundred men in a ravine, on the road to Santa Cruz, killing those who were there, and lying in wait for the fugitives from the battle. But they were taken in; for the battle between the two armies took place on the 14th of November, and was fought with such bravery and tenacity that the result was in doubt for many

hours. Both sides fought with great courage and valour—one side for their honour and interests, the other in defence of their country and liberty. At last the victory, which until then had been doubtful, seeing who was the best, inclined to our side, though not without heavy loss. The Guanches were defeated and driven from the field, with the loss of many of their people.

The Spaniards fought valorously on this day, and they had hard work, for such was the resistance made by the Guanches, and such the nimbleness and continual restlessness with which they fought, that they gave our men no rest whatever, and no place to recover themselves. It happened that when the cross-bow men shot their bolts, they did the enemy little harm, for the Guanches never remained in one place, but kept moving about, so that it was difficult to take sure aim. The Guanches, who did not understand how to use the cross-bow, and heard nothing but the sound of the bolt, or the whistling of the cord, took up the shaft, and, making those sounds with their mouths, pulled at it with their hands, pointing it towards us, and thinking that the force was in the sound. They hurled stones with much more effect, breaking a shield in pieces, and the arm behind it.

Among those who fought most valorously was the Overlord of Taoro. With a halbert he defended himself against seven horsemen, finally escaping from them and going up the hill of San Roque. But though he escaped from them, he was not so successful in an encounter with one Buendia, who, not knowing that he was the Overlord (though in his language he said he was MENCEY, which means lord), and not understanding, ran him through with a lance in a narrow ravine, where he rested. Among the prisoners, of whom there were many, the Overlord was missing. After searching and having recognized him, they cut off his head and sent it to his

lordship. Finding that his people had elected a brother[1] of the said Bencomo as king, they said that the head should be placed where the body had been left, that he might not be astounded, but should see that each part was his own. Some say that the Overlord, Bencomo, did not die at once from the lance-thrust—that he was still alive when they found him, that he became a Christian, and then died.[2]

The people of the lordship of Guimar, made suspicious by the way the Spaniards had treated them after the former battle, remained neutral on this occasion, stationing themselves on a hill to see which side would win. When they saw that those of Tegueste, Tacoronte, and Taoro were defeated and put to flight, they joined the Spaniards, supplying them with what their country yielded, and serving them with willingness and fidelity.

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[1] Tinquaro.

[2] Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife and Lord of Taoro, was a grand character—brave, humane, and chivalrous. The personal appearance of the aged warrior is minutely described in the poem of Viana. His murderer was one of the Canarian auxiliaries who had taken, or been given, the Spanish name of Pedro Martin Buendia.

Imobac Bencomo, by his wife, Caseloria, had one son and two daughters.

1. Ben Tahod, who took the names of Cristoval Hernando de Taoro. His first wife was Sañagua; his second, Inez Hernandez Tacoronte.
   - (1) Deriman, baptised as Cristoval Hernandez, and married Guaymina, of Guimar.
   - (2) Ramagua, married Anton Martin, of Abona.
   - (3) Collarapa, married Juan Doramas, a Canarian auxiliary.
2. Dacil, married Adxona, Lord of Abona. Her daughter—
   Catalina Bencomo married the cavalry captain, Fernan Garcia Izquierdo del Castillo. She was concealed in a laurel tree, which overhung the spring in the forest of Las Mercedes. Izquierdo stopped to drink, and fell in love with the reflection of her beautiful face in the water. She had four Izquierdo children.
3. Maria (her Guanche name is unknown). She married a Guanche. She had a daughter, Catalina, who had many descendants.

CHAPTER IX.

Of some other Battles and Encounters until the Island was conquered.

AFTER this famous victory by which the Guanches were punished and cowed, the Governor and the other Spaniards who survived gave thanks to God in a place where afterwards, for this reason, they founded an hermitage, which they called Our Lady of Grace, which we have mentioned several times. Considering the valour and force with which the natives had fought, and the great danger incurred in the battle, and not wishing to lose the advantage by any recklessness or neglect, also to cure the wounded, who were many, the Governor wished to recruit. He expected that the enemy would renew the attack, so he returned to Santa Cruz, which was a land of friends, and where there was better accommodation, it being a warm land and a sea-port. Here he remained some days without anything happening, for winter was not a time for active operations, nor for the enemy to disturb and seek for him.

At this time, being the year 1494, it happened, by the permission of God, that, as a punishment for the slaughter which the natives had inflicted on the Spaniards in the previous year, the air, owing to the corruption of the dead bodies of those who fell in the battles and encounters, became so baneful that a great pestilence was caused, and there was terrible mortality, which was more serious in the lordships of Tegueste, Tacoronte, and Taoro, although it also extended its ravages to the other parts of the island.

A woman of the island announced the pestilence from a precipitous rock, making signs to the Spaniards, and when they came near enough, declaring it to them; asking why they did not come up and occupy the land, for there was

no one to fight, no one to fear—all being dead. Seeing this, scouts were sent to examine the country. It was now spring, and the camp was advanced to Laguna, and established there. Thence the Spaniards began to send parties in various directions. They made some incursions into Tegueste and Tacoronte, always bringing back some prisoners, for, owing to the pestilence, our people did not meet with much resistance. Yet, although for this reason the natives did not give much trouble, the hunger and hardships suffered by our people were great, and were the reasons for not pushing forward the conquest. Our people were reduced in numbers owing to the delays in advancing, to the numerous deaths, to the sickness, miseries, and hardships they were exposed to, and to the serious want of provisions. The land had not been sown on account of the war and pestilence, and the contractors had not fulfilled their engagements. It was with pain that the Governor found that soldiers often wanted to leave the service and return home, not seeing that they were bound in honour to continue the enterprise, and that for this perseverance was necessary. Treating of this business with some other knights in his company, the feeling was expressed that the undertaking having once been commenced it should be prosecuted until the conquest was completed. One of these, no less valiant than liberal, seeing that their necessities were the real difficulties in their way, and valuing honour more than property, offered the Governor all he possessed for the help and maintenance of his men. He sent orders to Canaria to sell the estates he possessed there for 16,000 ducats, with which he raised men, and bought arms and provisions with which to continue the conquest. This knight was Lope Fernandez de la Guerra, of whom more hereafter. Meanwhile the soldiers passed six months of hardships, with nothing but barley and meat, until the succour arrived for which Lope

Fernandez had sent. Then the Governor, seeing the slight resistance made by the Guanches, and that the greater part of Tegueste and Tacoronte was waste and desolate, determined to invade the lordship of Taoro. For he knew that it was there that the main force of the enemy was assembled, and whence most resistance was to be expected.

He therefore advanced along the route to Orotava, with more success than on the first occasion. He met with little, though some, resistance, until he arrived at a place since called Realejo, in the territory of Taoro. From this camp he made incursions and attacks in various directions. Although he had several knights of good family with him —most valiant men of weight in counsel—those in whom the Governor had most confidence were four knights named Hernando de Truxillo, Lope Fernandez de la Guerra, Pedro de Vergara, and Guillen Castellano. These were most in the confidence of the Governor; they led the soldiers and served the offices of captains, and were first in all enterprises of danger. In prosecuting the conquest it became necessary, on one day among others, to reconnoitre a certain farm of the natives. Lope Fernandez set out for it alone. It appeared that on the side on which he approached it fifteen or twenty natives had come to form an ambuscade, whence they might safely make out the intentions of the Spaniards. Passing by the place, Lope Fernandez was attacked by the natives, who were in ambush. When he saw them he put spurs to his horse, as the spot where he was appeared to be dangerous, until he reached an open space. There he turned with his horse, so as not to show cowardice, and having knocked over six of the natives, the rest fled towards the woods. Feeling that he had done little unless he got one of them into his hands to make him disclose the designs and intentions of the others, he got in front of a fugitive in a narrow place,

got hold of him by making the horse knock him down, secured him, and brought him into the camp, where Lope Fernandez was well received. This prisoner told the Spaniards that the whole country had been called out, with the intention of once more trying their fortune on the following day. For this they wanted to attack from two sides, and the prisoner pointed out the directions that would be taken.

This was so; for the Lords of the Guanches, seeing that their people were much reduced in numbers by war and pestilence, and that the Spaniards were getting possession of their land, desired to try their fortunes, and to secure liberty for their country.

The people were called together and assembled from all parts, having animated and saluted each other, as men about to make a final trial of fortune. They offered us battle on the appointed day—the Nativity of the Son of God, of the year 1495. Our men, being prepared, and knowing that they were to be attacked on two sides, were divided. One party, under the command of the Governor, consisted of part of the cavalry and some foot soldiers. The other consisted of the rest of the force, under Lope Fernandez de la Guerra. Both sides fought with great valour, for the natives were desperate, contending as men who would settle the question once for all, and the Spaniards as men accustomed to victory, and who must in honour secure it; being almost on the same spot where the first battle was fought in the previous year. They sought to recover the reputation they had lost near the same place where they lost, which was at Centejo.

Finally, the battle having lasted during the greater part of the day, the victory turned to our side. The natives were defeated, many being killed, including their principal chiefs. In joy at this victory the victors founded a hermitage, which was called Our Lady of the Victory.

From this day the natives were afraid of us, and the Spaniards knew that the land was their own. After resting a few days at Realejo, to await the movements of the enemy, and seeing that they were not formed in order as had been their custom, the Governor and captains sent out some mounted men and light infantry to reconnoitre the country. They returned with a few prisoners, and reported that there was nothing more to fear; for the natives had staked all on the result of the battle, and were now ready for peace. Besides, they were so reduced in numbers by pestilence and battles that they could fight no more; they had died by hundreds, and the bodies were eaten by the dogs. These dogs were small curs called *cancha*, which were reared by the natives. Owing to the evil times they had been neglected, and turned to the dead bodies for food. This food made them even attack the living, and the natives, to escape from them, climbed the trees to sleep, when they were travelling, for fear of the dogs. The mortality was so great that the island remained almost without inhabitants, they having previously numbered 15,000.

Thus the Spaniards were able to overrun the land without much resistance. Notwithstanding this, it took three years to subjugate and pacify the conquered country. If it had not been for the pestilence it would have taken much longer, the people being warlike, stubborn, and wary.

CHAPTER X.

How the Spaniards established themselves on the Island, and of the first Magistrates.

NOW that the Governor and knights of the Conquest saw the land pacified and quiet, and that they were no longer obliged to go forth to war, they turned their atten-

tion to the work of establishing order, and the means of getting quietly and peacefully under civil and municipal law. They chose Laguna as the chief seat of government, selecting the place with much care, and laying it out for streets, open squares, and churches, as we now see it. The Governor granted sites and rights, dividing the land, having received the powers which were given on November 5th, 1496. To arrange the affairs of the State, the Governor made an agreement with the other knights and leaders on the 20th of October, 1497. He proposed that, for the service of God our Lord, and the good order of the Commonwealth about to be established, it would be necessary to begin on a good system, that good results might he secured. As four eyes are better than two, and the counsel of many is more sure than that of one only, he desired (with the concurrence of the rest) to elect, in the name of their Majesties, certain magistrates for the good rule, order, and government of the island, and he asked for the opinions of the knights who were present with him.

The knights declared that the Governor's proposal was a thing very proper, convenient, and necessary. He at once named as his Lieutenant, with all his powers for the administration of justice, a knight of Xeres, a very leading man of many gifts, clear judgment, and influential among the soldiers and people, having shown his high qualities in war and peace. This was Hernando de Truxillo, who was called the Old Lieutenant. He named Francisco de Grorualan as his chief magistrate, the other magistrates being Christoval de Valdespino, Pedro Mexia, and others of whom I only find the names. Those of the first invasion were Guillen Castellano, a man of great wealth ; Lope Fernandez de la Guerra, a man of much insight and influence, and no less valiant than liberal. He it was who helped the Governor in his necessity with his fortune as well as his sword. He received as his share the valley

called De Guerra. Having entailed it at the time of his death, the descendants of a son of his wife by another husband hold it to this day; for a nephew of his own, to whom he wished to leave the entail, went to play at canes when his uncle was dying, so he was disinherited at the request of the uncle's wife. Pedro Benitez, he who was called the one-eyed, a most valiant man, and of great stature and fierce bearing, was he who rescued the Governor from the Guanches at the "Màtanza," and afterwards fell fighting in Tagaos. He was so named because his countenance caused terror to children. Hieronimo de Valdes, son of Pedro de Algana, former Governor of Canaria, a man of great valour, continued to serve the Kings, whose certificate I have seen, that he was of the first conquerors.

These six were the first magistrates, which is no small sign that they were men of high qualities. For to commence the establishment of law and order in a new country, which was so entirely wanting in them, is a sufficient proof of their worth.

Besides these magistrates, two jurors were nominated. Their names were Francisco de Albornoz and Juan de Badajos, and a public notary, Alonso de la Fuente. These were the beginners of this Commonwealth, which has since increased, and whence so many illustrious worthies have come, alike seculars as ecclesiastics. To establish the government, they made and ordained many ordinances and statutes which then seemed desirable. One of them was that the conqueror or settler who shall receive a grant of land must reside on the island for a certain number of years. Many other ordinances were enacted, which will be found in the capitular book.

CHAPTER XI.

Of some of the Conquerors who were engaged in the Conquest of this Island.

I HAVE already said that all I write concerning the conquest and history of this island is from information, and not from my own knowledge. But now that I have touched upon these events I desire to continue what I have commenced, and not to leave the sewings without a knot nor the buildings without a final ornament. Although the present chapter is the one I most dreaded and recoiled from, it was not because I did not wish to record the merits of those illustrious worthies who deserved such a memorial for having won the island by their valour and right arms, but because I feared that their descendants might take offence at the order and precedence in which I might place them. As each one of them cannot have a separate history, it is a necessity that they should be treated together. But I announce now that if one is placed before or after another it is not because I wish to imply that one showed more valour than another, nor to honour one at the expense of another ; but I desire to do honour to all, for an example to their descendants and to encourage emulation of their merits.

The principal worthy of whom this history treats is Alonso de Lugo, a knight of noble and gentle blood, native of the city of Lugo in Galicia. To acquire reputation of valour in his own person, though his ancestors had enjoyed it in former times, he came to the conquest of Canaria, where he gained success and subdued the land in the part called Galdar. He held and was Alcalde of La Torre, whence he set out for the conquest of this island and Palma. For his merits and his name the Kings conceded to him the title of Governor of the Conquest and

Captain-General in the parts of Africa from the Cape of Aguer to that of Bojador, and divider of the lands thus indicated. As his services to the Kings increased, so the favour they showed him increased in proportion. He was named Adelantado of the Canary Islands, and his descendants (as branches from such a stem) inherited his gallant, generous, and liberal spirit. Such was his son, Don Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, the conqueror of Santa Martha, and his son, Don Alonso Luis Fernandez de Lugo, and his son Don Luis Fernandez de Lugo, and she who now inherits the estates and title, Doña Porcia Magdalena Fernandez de Lugo, Princess of Asculi and Duchess of Terra Nova.[1]

When peace had been established, the said Governor or Adelantado sent for his nephew, Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, a very capable knight, and gave him very good possessions as a settler. This knight was the first Governor of the island, after the Adelantado. The Adelantado also sent for his niece, Anna de Lugo, a lady of very noble qualities, and endowed with Christian virtues. She married a knight of Seville, one of the conquerors and a chief magistrate of the island, a man of sound judgment, named Pedro de Vergara. A nephew of the first wife of the Adelantado, brother of Hieronimo de Valdes, named Andres Suarez Gallinato, was also a conqueror of this

[1] The first Governor of Santa Marta, on the Spanish main, was Bastidas; then followed Palomiño, who carried on wars with the Indians, and was drowned in crossing a river. Next came Garcia de Lerma, who invaded the highlands of Bonda, but was defeated. He died at Santa Marta, and Dr. Infanta, who came as a judge from St. Domingo to investigate his proceedings, remained in charge. Then Don Pedro de Lugo arrived, with a fleet and a good force. So that Lugo was the fifth Governor of Santa Marta. He sent his son, Don Alonso, into the coast province of Ramada, near Cabo de la Vela; and thence into the mountains. Don Alonso brought back much gold, and took it to Cuba in a ship, without his father's knowledge; where he melted it, and went off to Spain, thus defrauding his companions of their shares. On the death of Don Pedro, his son Don Alonso was sent out as Governor of Santa Marta.

island and of Palma, a judicious man, whose grandson is a well-known Captain named Juan Suarez Gallinato.

The conquerors who, with their arms and horses, were in the conquest, are :—

Hernando Truxillo, Lieutenant of the Governor.
Pedro de Vergara, Chief Magistrate.
Christoval de Valdespino, Magistrate.
Pedro Mexia, Magistrate.
Guillen Castellano, Magistrate.
Lope Fernandez de la Guerra, Magistrate.
Pedro Benitez, Magistrate.
Hieronimo de Valdez, Magistrate.
Diego de Mesa, Magistrate.
Hernando del Hoyo.
Hernando de Llarena.
Bartolome Benitez.
Juan Benitez.
Jorge Grimon.
Gonzalo Castillo.
Lope de Aguirre.
Pedro Benitez.
Antonio de Vallejo, Public Notary.
Mateo Viña.
Alonso de las Hijas.
Francisco Albornez, Juror.
Juan Perdoma.
Jayme Joven.
The Comendador Gallego.
Christoval de Lucena.
Hernando de Medina.
Sancho de Vargas.
Gonzalo Mexia.
Diego Negron.
Zambrana Herrera.
Nicolas Ruiz.

Alonso de Alfaro.
Hieronimo de Pineda.
Francisco de Mesa.
Alonso Benitez.
Estrada.
Juan de Torres.
Alvaro de Leon.
And many others.

Of the foot-soldiers, there were :—

Francisco Melian.
Thome de Armas.
Francisco de Sepulveda, cousin of Luis de Sepulveda, of the Council of His Majesty.
Diego de Cala.
Don Pedro and his brother Don Hernando.
Alonso de Fuente.
Hernando de los Olivos.
Anton Martin Sardo.
Hernando de Riberol, who assisted in the conquest.
Diego de Agreda.
Lope Gallego.
Pedro Vaez.
Rodrigo Yañez.
Diego Delgado.
Juan Navarro.
Antonio de Caceres.
Carrasco.
Diego de Leon.
Juan Zapata.
Alonso de Arocha.
Rodrigo Borrios.
Lope de Salazar.
Lope de Fuentes.

Garcia de la Huerta.
Garci Paez.
Rodrigo Montaño.
Gonzalo Yañez.
Diego de Solis.
Juan Dura.
Oantinada.
Juan Pascual.
Blasino Romano
Juan Guillen.
Juan de Ortega.
Gamonales.
Pedro de la Lengua.
Pablo Martin.
Buendia.
Alonso Marquez.
Juan Nuñez.
Pedro Luis.
Alonzo de Xeres.

And many others, whose names I leave out to avoid prolixity, not with the object of obscuring their fame, but because there is now no memory of them.

After the land was conquered, many men of position came to settle, whose merits were not less than the preceding. Such was Christoval de Ponte, a Genoese, who indeed came long before the conquest; and the Adelantado, seeing and knowing his valour, and having friendship for him, gave him a principal lady in marriage, a sister of Pedro de Vergara, named Ana de Vergara; and he granted him, as a settler, extensive lands and waters. Now his descendants possess the best entailed estates in the island. Another Genoese also came to settle, a leading man possessing great wealth both within the island and elsewhere. He was respected as well for his wealth as for his sound judgment,

liberality, and uprightness. He was a magistrate of the island, and his name was Domenico Riço Grimaldi. He has descendants who are flourishing. Another knight came to settle on the island, a man of much weight and position, on whom the Adelantados of all the island relied, and who was made a magistrate. His name was the Licentiate Christóval de Valcaçar, whose descendants now living are the Captain Valcaçar, Alonzo de Lugo, and Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, who appreciate the trunk from which they come. Another knight who came to settle was Alonso de Llarena, a nephew of Hernando de Llarena the conqueror, a native of Llarena, a man highly thought of in the island, and on whose worth much reliance was placed. This knight was Lieutenant to the Governor of the island several times, and through his industry and merits he came to be a gentleman of great wealth, both from what he inherited from his uncle Hernando de Llarena, and from the estates he himself acquired. He left three important entailed estates to Diego Gonzalez de Llarena in Orotava, and to the Licentiate Alonso de Llarena, Magistrate and Captain of Cavalry, in the city of Laguna; and to Luis de San Martin Llarena, also a Captain of Cavalry, in Orotava: all names of men of much importance and weight, who have followed the footsteps of their fathers in the service of their kings, and in whose memory sumptuous tombs and chapels have been raised, more in reference to future than to present glory.

CHAPTER XII.

Of the Partition that was made of the Lands and Water of this Island, and of the Towns that were founded in it.

THE cavaliers of the Conquest resolved to settle and divide the land, after having examined it and considered

its properties, and seen that it was a pleasant and agreeable country. For they had gained it, and it was the will of the kings that those who had been sent there should remain. So the Governor, Alonso de Lugo, knowing the qualities and services of each one, and what work they had done in the Conquest, made divisions of the land and waters in the year 1501. In order that no one might have cause of complaint, he first ordered the land which appeared to be the best to be measured and divided into lots of six *fanegadas* each, for which the conquerors were to draw lots. The names were written in a list and put into one vase, and the lots into another. As some had come later to settle, while others of the conquerors had not yet received the reward of their labour, nor had lands on which to live and cultivate in honour among their friends, the Governor, to relieve himself of some trouble, delegated his powers, on the 2nd of January, 1502, to Hernando de Truxillo, Lope Fernandez de la Guerra, Pedro de Vergara, the chief magistrate, and Guillen Castellano. To them was committed the duty of dividing the land and waters, giving to each horse-soldier two lots, and to each foot-soldier one lot. This is to be understood of the irrigated lands, for as regards the dry land they were divided by the *cahiz*[1]. These cavaliers made many grants, and they showed so much respect for the Governor that when they delivered any title-deed it was headed: "I, Alonzo de Lugo, Governor and Divider of lands and waters of this island for their Majesties, grant to such-an-one because you have been a conqueror, or you have assisted in the conquest, or because you have come to settle, so many *fanegas* of land in such a part as your share;" and after such a grant Hernando de Truxillo,

[1] The *cahiz* was about twelve *fanegadas* or bushels, and a *cahizada* was a tract of land required for a *cahiz* to be properly sown.

Lope Hernandez de la Guerra, or Pedro de Vergara would not pass the land to another.

The lands being divided, and each one knowing his own, they set about the foundation of towns, and soon many very good ones were built, which are :

The city of San Christoval de la Laguna (which, being built near a lake, took the name from it) is a place of many people, very rich, and the principal place in the island. It is ennobled by grand and sumptuous edifices, spacious and wide streets and squares, with two parish churches, four convents, two hospitals, and many hermitages and oratories. It is inhabited by many knights, wealthy merchants, and strong labourers.

The town of Orotava is peopled by the most noble and distinguished families that came to the island. Within its vicinity it has 800 and more citizens. It is a town with a very fresh climate, founded on a slope, and contains very good edifices and streets, though tiring to ascend. Within the same town there are three sugar factories, and it now has eleven mills of two stones. It has its channel, which traverses the whole town ; and within its circuit there is a league of the best land in the island, or even in Spain, for it grows and yields everything that can be desired. The people of this town are very noble, though somewhat haughty ; and as the estates of few fathers have been divided among many sons, they have not the means they would desire to display the pride that they represent.

Garachico is another large town and a seaport ; but, though good and safe, it is to the north-west, which is oblique. It has a reasonably good fortress. In this town there are a few gentlemen, and all the rest of the inhabitants are engaged in trade. By reason of the commerce the town has become rich, and is consequently ennobled by fine edifices, churches, and monasteries.

Icod of the Vines (so-called to distinguish it from Icod

on the Height) is a town of many residents—wealthy and honourable men. It is built on the skirts of Teide, and contains fine edifices, and in them much timber.

The two Realejos, upper and lower, are towns, though not very large. They are rich, and have very good edifices. The inhabitants include some gentlemen, the rest being labourers.

Buena-vista is a large village, with noble and wealthy residents. There are some very good edifices, and it is the last place on the side of Daute.

The Silos also contain good edifices. They are ennobled by the factory of Daute, which is near them, and belongs to an Aragonese knight named Gaspar Fuente de Ferrara. San Juan is another village of labourers and vine cultivators. In Icod on the Height the inhabitants are all labourers.

The two Teguestes, old and new, have raised their heads by reason of their vineyards yielding vines which are good, mellow, and plentiful. Tegina also competes with them.

Tacoronte is a large village of labouring peasants, who have no need of their neighbours.

The Sauzal, Matanza, and Centejo are all villages of labourers, who maintain themselves by the sweat of their brows, without occupying themselves with anything else.

Santa Cruz is the port of this island, where those of the Conquest first landed, and it is, therefore, the oldest seaport. The inhabitants are seafaring people. It has a very good fort, with much artillery and a garrison of soldiers. The fort was built by Juan Alvarez de Fonseca, when he was Governor of this island. The Governors of the fort are appointed annually by the municipality, and they are not eligible unless they are the sons of some one. In this year, 1591, Luis de San Martin Cabrera, Regidor of the

Island, and a captain of many years' standing, is the Governor.

Tagara is a town built over the rocks of Anaga, inhabited by people who live by the plough and the spade.

On the other side of the island, to the south, there are some towns which, though small, are rich in corn and flocks.

Santiago de Adexe is a fort, and has a fortress whose perpetual Governor has it in entail, and is also perpetual Magistrate, named Pedro de Ponte.

Villaflor is a village in Chazna, with wealthy and noble inhabitants.

Arico and Granadilla are small villages, inhabited by respectable people.

Candelaria and Guimar are on the other side, where the surviving Guanches live. There are few of them, because they have become mixed. They live here owing to the Holy Image of Candelaria, which first appeared on this coast, as has been already said and will be repeated.

There are in this island more people than in all the others together. They number 7,000 fighting men, and each day the number is increasing, with the help of their Patron of Candelaria.

CHAPTER XIII.

Of the Present Condition of this Community, and of its Magistrates.

NOW that we have treated of the passed generations, that their memories may be preserved, it would not be reasonable that we should forget the present generation, as an encouragement and consolation to them. Besides, there is good reason to record a memorial of those who have

followed in the footsteps of their predecessors, as well in service to their King and country, as in efforts to maintain the honour which their forefathers gained. For it is not less honourable to hold fast what has been acquired, than to acquire afresh what had not previously been reached.

This community has always advanced from good to better, producing men of valour and understanding, of much weight and judgment, who, in this island and beyond it, have maintained their reputation both as laymen and ecclesiastics, men of learning and very gifted genius, and when they have exercised their talents they have produced some precious results. The community has always contained in its magistracy great statesmen with venerable grey hairs, who have opposed with intrepidity the injustice and injuries which some judges desire to inflict. Although, at present, among the considerable number of magistrates there are not many grey hairs, there are well-digested judgments, and discretion which supplies their place.

CHAPTER XIV.

How they took the Holy Image of Candelaria from the Cave of San Blas, where it was, to the House where it now is.

He who noted the point in the second book where I left the history of the origin of the Virgin of Candelaria, and sees how I now turn to continue it in the end of this third book, will not, I believe, hold it to have been superfluous and apart from my subject that I should have touched upon the conquest of the island. Though I have made some digressions, they all lead up to the main subject, which I resume.

The land having been pacified, and order having been established by the Governor and magistrates, they began to settle people on their estates, to build churches where

Divine service could be celebrated, and those recently converted to the faith could be taught. Among other churches they selected the Cave of San Blas, where the holy relic which had appeared on this island was kept from ancient times. The Christians felt no little joy at having found it, that so rich and admirable a prize should have come into their power, and that they should have been so favoured by the presence of such a Lady in the island. Possessing it, they felt security for their welfare. They made an altar in the cave, and celebrated Divine service. As curate they chose an old French clergyman named Robert. But as Our Lord worked miracles at the intercession of His Mother, and the devotion of the faithful increased—considering, too, that building could not be conveniently undertaken in so narrow a place, and that the Holy Image was not lodged with the decency that was proper among Christians—it was resolved to build a small hermitage on the same sea shore, about a musket-shot from the cave. It was placed on a rock where the sea could not do any injury ; yet this was done with fear and trembling, it being remembered that the Image might not wish to be taken from its cave to another lodging, for it would not be removed to another island. They were not far wrong, for it is common fame that when the hermitage was finished, and the Image was taken there, the holy relic twice went back to its cave.

When this happened there were many prayers, processions, penances, fasts, and other pious works, that Our Lord might sanction the removal of the Holy Image of His Mother to the church in which it had recently been placed ; as the intention was it might be worshipped with more decency than in the cave. So it was that it was held for good that it should remain, and it is in the church to this day. It was served by the old clergyman and two hermits, who, leaving the world, had taken up their abode there to

lead a more secluded life. The place was well adapted for the purpose, by reason of the grand solitude, the roughness of the land, the dryness, and the want of means of sustaining life.

In all this time, until the year 1530, although Our Lord performed many miracles through the Holy Image, there is no record of any except one or two which I shall mention when I treat of the miracles. Only one received the public voice and fame which, to show the reverence desired by Our Lord for these images, may be considered necessary.

It was that for the decent adornment of this Holy Image, a tabernacle having been brought on which to place it over the altar (which serves the purpose to this day); when it was to be put into the tabernacle, it would not fit. It extended lower down. Rather than alter the tabernacle, the Major-Domo of the hermitage, who was then in charge, named Juan Albertos, a man in a good position and with an estate, thought it would be more convenient to take a piece off the Holy Image than to pull the tabernacle to pieces. So he sent for a carpenter to cut off a piece of the stand on which the image rested its feet. This sacrilege was not perpetrated without the punishment of the offenders, for no one may lay hands on such a sacred relic with impunity. The arms of the carpenter were maimed so that he was no longer a whole man, and the Major-Domo's estates were so ruined, that he who had been reckoned to be one of the richest men in the island was within a year begging for bread for the love of God. Thus does God punish those who do not respect His relics, nor treat His images with due respect, especially those which are mirrors for mankind, as is this one.

CHAPTER XV.

How this Holy Image became the property of the Friars Preachers.

A GREAT responsibility lies on those who carry the ark of the covenant on their backs, whom God exempts from being counted with the people, and from mixing with them, or following in their footsteps, living apart to attend to the sacrifices and divine service. Of these were the sons of Eli, the High Priest of Israel, of whom the Scriptures say that they turned men from the sacrifices of God by their sins and their evil living.[1] There were not wanting, in these times, those who followed such courses, for some of the men who served in this holy chapel of Our Lady of Candelaria, not being so honest in their lives as they should have been, were the occasion that the pilgrimages declined, and that the place was not so frequented as it used to be; nor did so many send to have Masses said there, nor offer alms, not finding in the ministers the disposition that they wished and that should be required. Thus the devotion to the Holy Image fell away.

God so ordered it that there should be a remedy for these evils, and that men should not altogether lose the respect and devotion due to the holy relic. The Bishop of the islands, Don Luis Cabeza de Vaca, being satisfied with the life, good example, odour of fair fame, and learning of the Friars of the Order of Preachers who lived in these islands, and considering that the devotion which has become cold and has been lost by the fault of others would be recovered and lighted up by the industry and good living of the said Friars, he asked and requested them to take charge of the house and hermitage of Our Lady of Candelaria, taking

[1] 1 Samuel, i, 17.

upon themselves the office of curates. This was done not only by his own speech and provision, but by ordination and visitation entered in the books of the parishes of Concepcion and Remedios. I will here give an extract as a record, and in confirmation of what has been said.

"We, Don Luis Cabeza de Vaca, by the grace of God and of the Holy Church of Rome, Bishop of Canaria, and of the Council of their Majesties, say as follows:—

"In the visitation which we made of some churches of this island of Tenerife, in this present year of 1530, with reference to the service and visitation of the church of Our Lady of Candelaria, we ordain a chapter, and order it to be written in the books of the visitation of the parochial churches of Our Lady of *Concepcion* and *Los Remedios*, the tenor of which is the church of Our Lady of Candelaria is of much devotion; and as we desire that the good administration and service that should prevail in it may be increased and not diminished; and as we have been informed that some persons have left off their orders for Masses and their offerings of alms in the said church because it does not maintain the credit it once had, owing to the ministers who for some time have served in the church, being the Reverend Father Fray Diego de la Fuente . . . . . in the Canary Island, who, with much devotion served it, with another father presbyter: we order and commit the administration of the said church, reserving and we do reserve the jurisdiction of it, and the right to its fruits and rents within the boundaries of Guimar and Agache, where the said church is situated; and we reserve the right and administration (if any belongs to it) of the tithes and rents for our brothers, the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of Canaria, and for the benefit of this city of San Christoval. It is not our intention to act prejudicially in anything, but only to provide for the service of the said church, and of the holy sacraments in it, as has

been provided hitherto by the curates who have it. With this object we entrust it to the said reverend fathers, and to the said father Vicar-Provincial. This is given in the city of San Christoval on the 9th day of August of the said year. The original is in the convent of Santo Domingo, in Laguna. As the Vicar-General, who held the office at that time, who was named the Bachiller Francisco Ortiz, had appointed a certain curate and chaplain for the said church, and learning that the Bishop had issued orders about it, he gave his letter by which he absolved from his office any curate that might be there, and ordered him to give and deliver up the keys, and any other property, to the said Father Friar Diego de la Fuente, and to let him freely exercise his office, delivering up to him all ornaments and dresses of the Holy Image. The 10th of August of the above year."

With these provisions the said Friars entered upon possession of the house, and it was taken by the Father Friar Diego de la Fuente, Vicar-Provincial of these islands, Friar Juan de Saboya, and Friar Gaspar, on the 17th of August of the same year. The first Vicar was Friar Hieronimo Vizcarra.

Seeing the improvement in the service of the holy house, by reason of the numerous pilgrimages from all parts which its fame attracted, and of the number of gifts bestowed on it, the Fathers began to build and work out the form of a convent, so far as the site allowed of the space. But the devil, enemy of our well-being, seeing the service that was done to God in that house, night and day, receiving the pilgrims who came, and consoling them both in spiritual and temporal wants, he moved certain ecclesiastics to disturb these good works in a spirit of envy, saying that it was their church and parish; that the Bishop had not the power to give it away, nor to alienate it to a convent of friars. It was, they said, the patronage of the

King, and could not be done without his licence. This led the religious to think of leaving the place, to avoid occasion for scandal in the community. But the municipality of the city of San Christoval de la Laguna, and the magistrates of the island, seeing the service that was done to God our Lord and to the King, came forward and treated with the said religious, and with the Father Friar Hieronimo de San Vicente, who was Vicar-Provincial. They said that there was no occasion for any change whatever, because they, in the name of his Majesty as patron, had granted the said hermitage and the rest of the site called "Candelaria," and so they made the grant.

CHAPTER XVI.

[Words of the Grant of the Municipality of the Hermitage of "Candelaria" to the Friars Preachers.]

THIS grant having been ratified, the Provincial presently accepted it, in the municipal building, in the name of the Order. It consisted of the said house, the site and hermitage, with the Image and ornaments, and all other things appertaining, in the form and manner, and with the conditions agreed upon. From that time it was admitted as a house of the Order, to enjoy the privileges, exemptions and precedence conceded to houses of the Order. This being settled, the friars resumed possession. Marcos Verde, Chief Constable, in the name of the municipality, put the said religious in possession on the 5th of December, 1534. All this is established by public documents, which are deposited in the archives of the convent of Santo Domingo de la Laguna.

After this, on the 9th of January, 1535, the same persons as above being present in the municipal building, the magistrates, Anton Joven and Lorenzo de Palenzuela, said

that they had besought his Majesty to confirm this grant to the said Friars, and they sent an application to this effect to their Majesties. All this passed before Anton Vallejo, Notary to the Council. In the following year, 1536, in the month of June, Rodrigo Nuñez, an inhabitant of Laguna, sent by the municipality, brought the confirmation of the grant signed by the Empress and Queen our Lady, and sealed with the royal seal, countersigned by the lords of the council and other lords of the royal household, which is also in the archives of the Order. The confirmation of the Supreme Pontiff was also obtained with the seal attached, ratifying all that the Bishop, Municipality, and Emperor had done: given on the 11th of March, in the 8th year of the Pontificate of Paul III.

CHAPTER XVII.

How certain Clergy turned the Friars out of the House of Our Lady, and how they took possession.

SUCH is the vice of envy that it respects nothing, human nor divine, finding cause of envy in everything. It is a diabolical vice, and was the first that existed, for by the devil's envy death entered the world. On seeing that man was created to enjoy the glory which he had not attained, he undertook to deceive the same, and get him expelled from paradise.

This same vice moved certain clergy, who, closing their eyes to reason, attempted a deed which could bring them little gain. It seemed to them that the possession of the house of Our Lady by the friars was a loss to them, seeing that it was the most celebrated and most frequented place in the islands, and in that part of Christendom exempted from episcopal jurisdiction and visitation, a condition which was included. For as his Holiness had received

this house as a convent of the Order of San Domingo, and extended to it the privileges and exemptions of the rest of the convents of that Order, it was not under subjection to the Bishop; therefore, as regards that point, it was free, though in all others the friars would serve, help, and obey. Moved, then, by diabolical suggestion, these priests entered into a secret conspiracy. They went on the pilgrimage, two by two, to the house of Our Lady, with their defensive and offensive arms concealed. As soon as they were joined together, they turned the friars out and seized the house. As they had planned, so they did. On the 20th of May, 1539, Pedro Garcia de Samarinas, Francisco Martin, Cristoval Garcia, the priest of Senegal, the chaplain of San Christoval, and some others, came to the house, joined company to effect their object, and turned the vicar, who was Fray Gaspar de Mertola, and two other friars out of the house, contrary to their wills, and with great noise and disturbance, subjecting them to many affronts. They took possession of the monastery, fortifying themselves in it, shutting the doors and making them strong, and possessing themselves of all the house contained. They made the house a house of delinquents, doing such things that for the sake of shame and respect for history I am silent about. They shut themselves up for many days, without even opening the doors to the pilgrims who arrived. When any of them said Mass, the others stood round them with arms in their hands, as if they were on a threatened frontier. The friars sought their remedy in the best way they could. They sent to their Prior, Father Friar Martin de Vergara, who was at the time in our convent of San Pedro Martyr in Grand Canaria, that he might give his Majesty notice of what had occurred. The remedy was not long delayed. On the 27th of August of the same year, it was ordered by his Majesty that the house and all it contained should

be restored, and that the delinquents should be punished with the utmost rigour. In the next year, 1546, on the 6th of June, a second letter came, ordering great and rigorous penalties if those in the first letter had not been complied with. Not content with this, the friars, to prevent any such trouble in future, applied for confirmation a second time from his Holiness Paul III, reporting all that had happened. He despatched a very favourable diploma, with many censures of the conduct of the opponents, on the 27th of May, 1544. All these documents are in the archives of our convent.

From that time forward the friars have had peaceful possession, although in the following year the Bishop, Don Alonso Ruiz de Virues, wanted to visit the house; being Vicar-Provincial the Master Friar was Tomas de Molina, and of the house the venerable old man of good memory, Friar Gil de Santa Cruz. Being thus required by the letters royal as well as apostolic, the Bishop gave up the intention of visiting, and made an agreement with the friars. It was this: that it was well that he and his successors for ever, and the friars and their successors, should agree that the friars should peacefully occupy, with peaceful possession, the house of Our Lady of Candelaria, enjoying the immunities which they have by right and privilege; but that they should give the cave of San Blas, where the Image was placed at first, for a church and parish of their *seligreses*, and that they should administer the sacraments in it. This agreement was confirmed by the Provincial Chapter celebrated in the town of Ossuna, on the 6th of June, 1544, being Vicar-General of Andalusia, the Father Master Friar Vicente Calvo, and *disindores*; Father Friar Vicente Ortiz, and Father Friar Hieronimo Carriado; in presence of Luis de Olivera, Notary and Public Scrivener, and published by apostolic and royal authority.

The friars enjoyed tranquillity for some years, though

not without some troubles, for succeeding bishops, being ill-informed, wanted to make a visitation of this house to extend their jurisdiction, pretending some right in it from the first arrangement, not seeing that all the former rule had been abrogated. On the 20th of November, 1558, the Bishop, Don Diego Desa, wanted to visit the house, and there came to oppose it the Father Fray Diego de Zamora, Commissary of the Holy Office, by order of the Father Fray Tomas de Molina, Vicar-Provincial. He notified to the Bishop the records and confirmations, and he never answered and never carried out his intention. Since then, there have been seven or eight bishops, and none have attempted a visitation, looking upon the question as settled : the house at Candelaria being a convent of the Order, and as such exempt and free from his jurisdiction. In confirmation of this, the most Reverend Don Fernando Suarez de Figueroa, Bishop of these islands, came to this house on the 8th of September, 1589, when he was visiting his bishoprick. He saw the convent, contemplated and considered the Holy Image of Candelaria, which he looked upon with much respect and reverence. The friars proposed that he might see it unclothed ; but he did not wish or consent to this, but caused candles to be placed before it, which were not there before, that it might be looked upon with more propriety. He declared, in my presence, many times, that he had never before seen an image which moved him so much, or which showed more divinity, although he had seen all the images of Spain and Italy. He well showed his devotion by leaving a perpetual chaplaincy of 300 ducats, with obligation to say Masses. It is hoped that he may do much more, for his devotion to this holy relic is great. It was this Bishop who was most active in insisting that this work should see the light and be published.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

FOURTH BOOK.

Now cease my pen of war to write,
Let Mars no longer show his might ;
Return we now to realms above,
To thoughts of thankfulness and love ;
To holy miracles ere while
Performed on Nivaria's isle ;
To Candelaria's wondrous tale,
And mercies of Our Lady hail.

FOURTH BOOK.

OF THE MIRACLES WHICH OUR LORD HAS WORKED THROUGH THIS HOLY RELIC OF OUR LADY OF CANDELARIA.

[SIXTY-FIVE miracles, mostly of healing, are enumerated; but they have been sufficiently described in the Table of Contents. Only ten localities are mentioned: Laguna six times, Santa Cruz twice, Garachico twice; Guimar, a district which had so much to do with the Holy Image, not once. Probably all the miracles were worked in Guimar, except those specially mentioned as taking place elsewhere. There were thirty-two cures of hurts or sickness, of which eleven were effected by oil from the lamp; eight ships saved, one boat's crew, three brought to life, two conversions, and four relating to the Image itself.]

END OF BOOK IV.

My pen has reached the final leaf
Of records wise and bold.
The wondrous tale of Tenerife
For ages shall be told.
To God our thanks and praise we raise,
He gave the strength to write.
To Him is due Nivaria's praise.
His Candelaria's might.

Impreſso en Seuilla
en caſa de Iuan de Leon, junto
a las ſiete Rebueltas.
1594.

Reproduced and printed for the Hakluyt Society,
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REPORT

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE IMAGE OF OUR LADY OF CANDELARIA.

BY

MISS ETHEL TREW.

AFTER the *fiesta* of February 2nd, the image was taken into the room near the church, and disrobed by the priests. It once had beautiful ropes of pearls, but they were appropriated by the Spanish Government at the time of the dissolution of monasteries, together with a great many other jewels and gold ornaments belonging to her and to to the service of the Mass. The image still has a great many valuable jewels, including some emeralds of great size. They occur in a beautifulsto macher of heavy gold-work covering the bodice of her dress. Between the emeralds the stomacher is studded with diamonds. The crowns of Virgin and Child are only silver-gilt, set with amethysts and topazes, together with a great many badly-matched pearls. The cape is of red velvet, beautifully worked with pearls and precious stones in a floral design. The *rostrillo* round the head has some beautiful emeralds and other stones. There are some gold chains, one of very fine workmanship, hung with votive offerings of those the image has cured, including two heavy golden legs, and a golden eye. The offerings in money amount to about £700 to £800 a year. The church was hung with all the

estandartes presented by the towns of the seven islands for the ceremony of the coronation of the image.

The cave of San Blas, where the image was kept by the Guanches, on the sea-shore, is in its original state, rough and unhewn, except the front part of the entrance. There are some remarkable paintings on the wall. One, of the first mass celebrated there by the Spaniards, is very striking. It represents a long procession coming along the shore. Alonso de Lugo, the Adelantado, is mounted. The Image is borne by four Guanche kings, crowned and wearing goat-skins, followed by a crowd of Guanches and Spaniards. The composition and spirit of the picture are admirable. Pieces of stone chipped from the cave are esteemed to be very efficacious in healing bad throats. The patient should drink the water in which the stone has been boiled.

February, 1907.

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PART I.

GENERAL HISTORY, Etc.,

A.D. 1341—1907,

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[10481. aaa. 26.] *See* 1877, No. 137.

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OF

THE CANARY ISLANDS.

PART II.

INDEX OF AUTHORS, EDITORS, Etc.

1341—1907.

INDEX OF AUTHORS, EDITORS, ETC.

Name.	Date.	No.
Abreu de Galindo, Juan de	1632	25
	1764	46
	1767	47
	1848	76
Abreu e Lima, Luiz Antonio de, *Conde de Carreira*	1841	67
	1896	218
Alfonso V, King of *Aragon, the Wise*	1841	67
Allart, J. B.	1890	186
Amiot, James. *See* Amyot, Jacques, *Bishop of Auxerre.*		
Amyot, Jacques, *Bishop of Auxerre*	1603	17
Anchieta, Luis de	1679	33
Arce Mazón, Ignacio de	1886	163
Arguello, Pedro de	1526	6
Avezac Macaya, Marie Armand Pascal d'	1846	70
	1848	77
Azurara, Gomes Eannes de.	1841	67
	1896	218
Balfour, Isaac Bayley	1888	173
Barker-Webb, Philip	1835	63
Barros e Souza de Mesquita de Macedo Leitão a Carvalhosa, Manuel Francisco de, *Visconde de Santarem.*	1841	67
	1896	218
Baudin, Nicolas	1810	53
	1811	54
Beazley, Charles Raymond	1896	218
Belcastel, Gabriel de	1861	96
Beneden, Charles van, *Baron*	1882	154
Bergeron, Pierre	1630	23, 24
	1847	71
	1872	121
Bernáldez, Andrés	1850	83
	1870	117
Berthelot, Sabin	1835	63
	1841	65
	1849	81
	1875	129
	1876	132
	1879	141

Name.	Date.	No.
Berwerth, Fritz	1894	208
Béthencourt, Galien de	1630	23, 24
	1872	121
Béthencourt, Jean de	1630	23, 24
	1772	48
	1846	70
	1847	71
	1869	115
	1872	121
	1874	124
	1896	219
Biblioteca Canaria	1904	233
	1905	234
Biblioteca Isleña	1847	71, 73
	1848	76, 78, 79
	1849	81, 82
Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, Stuttgart.	1883	159
Bibliothèque de l'Explorateur	1891	193
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris	1841	67
	1896	218
Birch, Walter de Gray	1903	231
Boccacio, Giovanni	1341	1
	1827	60
Bohn's Classical Library	1855	88
Bohn's Scientific Library	1852	84
Bolle, Carl	1861	97
	1890	187
	1891	190
	1892	194
Bonpland, Aimé	1852	84
Bontier, Pierre	1630	23, 24
	1847	71
	1872	121
	1874	124
	1896	219
Borda, Jean Charles de	1793	50
Bory de Saint-Vincent, Jean Baptiste Marie George	1803	51
	1805	52
Bösenberg, W.	1895	210
Bostock, John, *F.R.S.*	1855	88
Boulanger, C.	1836	64
Bremon y Cabello, José Maria	1847	72
British Museum, Egerton MS. 2709	1896	219
Buch, Leopold von	1825	59
	1836	64
Bunbury, *Sir* Charles James Fox, *Bart.*	1857	89
Busto y Blanco, Fernando del	1864	102
Bute, Marquis of	1891	192
	1903	231

Name.	Date.	No.
Cadamosto, Luigi di	1895	211
Calderon y Arana, Salvador	1875	133
	1884	160
Camara y Murga, Christoval de la	1634	26
	1737	41
Canary Islands Periodicals, 1758-1897	1905	234
Carreira, Visconde da	1841	67
	1896	218
Castillo Ruiz de Vergara, Pedro Agustin del	1709	39
	1848	78
Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts	1903	231
Charles VI, King of France	1630	23, 24
	1872	121
Charton, Edouard	1869	115
Chil y Naranjo, Gregorio	1874	125
	1876	134
Christ, Hermann	1885	161
	1886	164
	1887	165
	1890	187
Chun, Carl	1888	174
	1891	191
Ciampi, Sebastiano	1827	60
Cirilo Moreno, J.	1899	226
Coello, Francisco	1892	198
Company of Merchants trading to the Canaria Islands	1665	29
Conquest of the Grand Canaries, The	1599	14
	1812	55
Costa de Macedo, Joaquim José da	1841	66
	1844	68
Dancourt, ——. *Directeur Général de la Compagnie Royale d'Afrique.*	1695	35, 36
	1696	37
	1887	166
Davila y Cardenas, Pedro Manuel	1737	41
Delisle, Léopold Victor	1896	220
Diaz Nuñez, ——	1865	103
Diaz y Perez, Nicolas	1882	155
Donnet, Fernand	1895	212
Dugour, José Désiré	1853	85
Eannes, Gomes, *de Zurara*	1841	67
	1896	218
Edwardes, Charles	1888	175
Egerton MSS. *See* British Museum.		
Eques y Beaumont, Diego de	1892	195
Ehrmann, Theophil Friedrich	1805	52

Name.	Date.	No.
Engler, Adolph	1885	161
	1887	165
	1890	187
	1891	190
	1892	194
Espinosa, Alonso de	1594	12
	1848	79
	1907	236
Estevanez, Nicolas	1904	233
Faidherbe, Louis Léon Cèsar	1874	126
Ferdinand V (of Castille), *the Catholic*, King of Spain	1850	83
	1870	117
Ferdinand VI, King of Spain	1848	78
Fernandez, Gaspar J.	1865	104
Fernández de Béthencourt, Francisco	1878	138
	1900	228
Fernández Duro, Cesáreo	1892	195
Feuillée, Louis	1724	40
Fontpertuis, Adalbert de. *See* Frout de Fontpertuis, Adalbert.		
Forster, Johann Georg Adam	1793	50
Franchy-Lugo, Juan Bautista	1750	43
Fritsch, Karl von	1866	108
	1867	109, 110
	1868	112
Frout de Fontpertuis, Adalbert	1882	156
Gabriel y Ruiz de Apodaca, Fernando	1870	117
Garat, Gabriel de	1848	77
Garcia, Alfonso	1590	11
Gil Maestre, Alvaro	1898	224
Glas, George	1764	46
	1767	47
	1772	48
Goldsmid, Edmund Marsden	1887	166
Gomes, Bernardino Antonio, *the Younger*	1863	101
Gómez Escudero, Pedro	1485	3
	1901	229
Gravier, Gabriel	1874	124
Greeff, Richard	1868	113
Häckel, Ernst	1870	118
Hacket, Thomas	1568	9
Haemmerlein, Felix	1490	4
	1877	136
	1879	143
Hakluyt, Richard	1599	16
	1812	55

Name.	Date.	No.
Hakluyt Society	1872	121
	1896	218
	1907	236
Hartung, Georg	1857	90
	1862	99
	1867	110
Heede, Michiel Joostens van	1599	15
Hemsley, William Botting	1895	213
Henry, Prince of Portugal, *the Navigator*	1841	67
	1896	218
Hodgkin, Thomas, *M.D.*	1845	69
Humboldt, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von, *Baron*	1852	84
Inquisition, The	1903	231
Isabella, of Castille, *the Catholic*, Queen of Spain	1850	83
	1870	117
La Isla de San Miguel de la Palma	1898	225
Jaime de Sotomayor, Alonso	1639	27
Kunstmann, Friedrich	1853	86
Lafuente y Alcántara, Miguel	1850	83
Laguna Provincial Library	1639	27
	1883	159
Laharpe, Jean François de	1816	57
Lajard, Joseph	1892	196
La Salle, Gadifer de	1896	219
Latimer, S. Frances	1888	176
Leclerq, Jules	1880	145
Ledru, André Pierre	1810	53
	1811	54
Lemaire, Jacques Joseph	1695	35, 36
	1696	37
	1887	166
Le Verrier, Jean	1630	23, 24
	1847	71
	1872	121
Lobo, Miguel	1860	95
Locock, Frances	1871	120
Löher, Franz von, *the Elder*	1876	135
	1883	159
	1895	214
Löher, Franz, *the Younger*	1895	214
Lopez de Ulloa, Francisco	1646	28
Lütolf, Alois	1877	136
	1879	143
Lyell, *Sir* Charles, *Bart.*	1830	61
	1875	130

Name.	Date.	No.
M., J. R., of Laguna	1905	235
Mac Carthy, Oscar	1848	77
Macedo, Joaquim José da Costa de. *See* Costa de Macedo, J. J. da.		
Mac Gregor, Fr. Coleman	1831	62
Maffiotte, Luis	1905	234
Major, Richard Henry, *F.S.A.*	1872	121
Malibran, Juan Arturo	1849	81
Mantegazza, Paolo	1867	111
	1877	137
Margry, Pierre	1896	219, 220
Marín y Cubas, Tomás	1694	34
Markham, *Sir* Clements Robert, *K.C.B., F.R.S.*	1907	236
Meade-Waldo, Edmund Gustavus Bloomfield	1889	179, 180
	1893	201
Mecia de Viladestes	1874	124
Meyer, Hans, *Dr. Phil.*	1885	162
	1896	221
Meyer, Victor	1893	202
Millares, Agustin. *See* Millares Cubas, Agustin.		
Millares Cubas, Agustin	1874	127
	1878	139
	1879	139
	1881	148
	1893	203
	1894	209
Millares Cubas, Luis	1894	209
Minutoli, Julius von, *Baron*	1854	87
Montero, Juan	1847	74
Morris, *Sir* Daniel, *K.C.M.G.*	1893	204, 205
	1895	215
Murray, Elizabeth, *Mrs.*	1859	93
Murray, Richard Paget	1895	216
Museo Canario	1900	34
	1901	229
Nicols, Thomas	1599	16
Noll, Fr. C.	1871	119
	1872	122
North, *Sir* Thomas.	1603	17
Nuñez de la Peña, Juan	1676	31
	1847	75
Olive, Pedro de	1865	104
Ortiz, Hernando	1526	6
Ossuma y van den-Heede, Manuel de	1889	181
Padron, Aquilino	1874	128
Palma	1898	225

Name.	Date.	No.
Pégot-Ogier, Eugène	1869	116
	1871	120
Pérez, Georges Victor	1892	197
	1893	206
Perez, Joannes	1676	31
Pérez, Victor	1862	100
	1865	105, 106, 107
	1873	123
	1879	142
	1888	177
	1892	197
Perez del Christo, Christoval [Luis de Anchieta]	1679	33
Perez del Toro, Felipe	1881	149
	1892	198
Philip IV, King of Spain	1634	26
Philippe de Kerhallet, Charles Marie	1880	146
Pilgrim, The Poor	1583	10
Pingré, Alexandre Guy	1793	50
Pleasant Description, A	1583	10
Plinius Secundus, Caius	1855	88
Plutarch	1603	17
Poor Pilgrim, The	1583	10
Porlier, Antonio	1753	44
	1760	45
	1781	49
Prestage, Edgar	1896	218
Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine François	1816	57
Proclamation, A	1665	29
Purchas, Samuel, *the Elder*	1626	20
Quatrefages de Bréau, Jean Louis Armand de	1887	167
Quedenfeldt, M.	1887	168
Quintana y Leon, J. de	1882	157
Ramirez, Pedro Mariano	1847	71
	1882	157
Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid	1781	49
Recuerdo del Centenario	1897	223
Reid, Savile G.	1887	169
Reiss, Wilhelm	1861	98
	1867	110
	1868	112
Relacion que sereciblò	1741	42
Relacion Sumaria	1599	13
Reumont, Alfred von	1879	143
Riley, Henry Thomas	1855	88
Roman de la Peña, Bartolomé	1669	30

Name.	Date.	No.
Ross, Thomasina	1852	84
Ruiz y Benítez de Lugo, Ricardo	1904	233
Sagot, Paul Antoine	1865	106, 107
	1873	123
	1892	197
Saint-Germain Leduc, Pierre Etienne Denis	1848	77
Sainte-Claire Deville, Charles Joseph	1848	80
Santa Cruz de Tenerife	1897	223
Santarem, Visconde de	1841	67
	1896	218
Sauer, Fritz	1880	147
Schacht, Hermann	1859	94
Schefer, Charles Henri Auguste	1895	211
Scory, *Sir* Edmund	1626	20
	1629	22
Serra y Moratín, Leandro	1900	227
Sertorius, Quintus	1603	17
Silva Ferro, Ramon de	1875	131
Simony, Oscar	1892	199
	1893	207
Smyth, Charles Piazzi	1858	91
Sociedad de Bibliofilos Andaluces	1870	117
Sociedad Económica Matritense	1881	150
Société de l'Histoire de Normandie	1874	124
Sonnini de Manoncourt, Charles Nicolas Sigisbert	1810	53
	1811	54
Sosa, José de	1678	32
	1849	82
Sprengel, Matthias Christian	1793	50
Stone, Olivia M.	1887	170
	1889	182
Stuart, John Patrick Crichton, *Marquis of Bute*	1891	192
	1903	231
Tamara, Francisco	1556	7
Thamara, Francisco. *See* Tamara.		
Thevet, André	1558	8
	1568	9
Torres Campos, Rafael	1901	230
Traicté de la Navigation	1630	23, 24
Tristram, Henry Baker, *the Younger*	1889	183
	1890	188
Vallerius, Haraldus	1708	38
Valverde y Alvarez, Emilio	1889	184
Vega Carpio, Lope Felix de	1618	19

Name.	Date.	No.
Verneau, René	1878	140
	1881	151, 152, 153
	1882	158
	1887	171, 172
	1888	178
	1889	185
	1891	193
	1892	200
Viana, Antonio de	1604	18
	1883	159
	1905	235
Viera y Clavijo, ——	1868	114
Viera y Clavijo, José de	1772	48
	1858	92
Viladestes, Mecia de	1874	124
Vivien de Saint-Martin, Louis	1879	144
Wangüemert y Poggio, José	1900	228
Ward, Osbert	1903	232
Warner, George Frederic, *Litt. D.*	1890	189
Webb, Philip Barker	1835	63
Worsley, A.	1895	217
Zimmermann, Eberhardt August Wilhelm von	1811	54
Zuaznavar y Francia, José Maria de	1815	56
	1816	58
Zurara, Gomes Eannes, de	1841	67
	1896	218

BIBLIOGRAPHY

OF

THE CANARY ISLANDS.

PART III.

INDEX OF TITLES.

INDEX OF TITLES.

Abrégé de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages. 1816.
Prévost d'Exiles, Antoine François. 57.

Afrika vor den Entdeckungen der Portugiesen. 1853.
Kunstmann, Friedrich. 86.

Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas. 1604. 1883. 1905.
Viaña, Antonio de. 18, 159, 235.

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Berthelot, Sabin. 141.

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Donnet, Fernand. 212.

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Pérez, Victor. 105.

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Frout de Fontpertuis, Adalbert. 156.

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Arce Mazón, Ignacio de. 163.

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Verneau, René. 178.

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Bösenberg, W. 210.

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Borda, Jean Charles de. 50.

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Häckel, Ernst. 118.

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Hartung, Georg. 99.

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Bolle, Carl. 194.

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Balfour, Isaac Bayley. 173.

The Canarian. 1872.
Bontier, Pierre. 121.

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Mac Gregor, Fr. Coleman. 62.

Die Canarischen Inseln. 1854.
Minutoli, Julius von, *Baron.* 87.

Die Canarischen Inseln. 1861.
Bolle, Carl. 97.

Die Canarischen Inseln. 1892.
Simony, Oscar. 199.

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Chun, Carl. 191.

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Morris, *Sir* Daniel, *K.C.M.G.* 204.

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Espinosa, Alonso de. 12, 79.

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Nicols, Thomas. 16.

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Porlier, Antonio. 49.

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Peréz, Victor. 123.

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Abreu de Galindo, Juan de. 25, 76.

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Lopes de Ulloa, Francisco. 28.

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Bernáldez, Andrés. 5, 83, 117.

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Bontier, Pierre. 71.

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Roman de la Peña, Bartolomé. 30.

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Millares Cubas, Agustin. 148, 203.

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Garcia, Alfonso. 11.

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Abreu de Galindo, Juan de. 46, 47.

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Meyer, Hans, *Dr. Phil.* 162.

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Allart, J. B. 186.

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Belcastel, Gabriel de. 96.

Iles de l'Afrique. 1848.
Avezac Macaya, Marie Armand Pascal d'. 77.

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Pégot-Ogier, Eugène. 116.

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Verneau, René. 171.

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Ossuna y van den-Heede, Manuel de. 181.

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Verneau, René. 158.

Die Insel Tenerife. 1896.
Meyer, Hans, *Dr. Phil.* 221.

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Hemsley, William Botting. 213.

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Perez del Toro, Felipe. 149.

La Isla de San Miguel de la Palma. 1892.
Palma. 225.

Der Kampf um Teneriffa. 1883.
Viana, Antonio de. 159.

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Löher, Franz von, *the Elder.* 214.

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Jaime de Sotomayor, Alonso. 27.

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Tamara, Francisco. 7.

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Meade-Waldo, Edmund Gustavus Bloomfield. 201.

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Plutarch. 17.

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Philippe de Kerhallet, Charles Marie. 146.

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Schacht, Hermann. 94.

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Meyer, Victor. 202.

Mémoires sur les Guanches. 1841.
Berthelot, Sabin. 65.

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Diaz Nunez, ——. 103.

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Costa de Macedo, Joaquim José da. 68.

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Pérez, Victor. 100.

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Fritsch, Karl von. 108.

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Ciampi, Sebastiano. 60.

Nach den Glücklichen Inseln. 1876.
Löher, Franz von, *the Elder*. 135.

The Natural History of Pliny. 1855.
Plinius Secundus, Caius. 88.

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Sprengel, Matthias Christian. 50.

The New found worlde. 1568.
Thevet, André. 9.

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Warner, George Frederic, *Litt. D.* 189.

A New *Vicia* from Tenerife. 1895.
Murray, Richard Paget. 216.

Nobiliario y Blasón de Canarias. 1878.
Fernandez de Béthencourt, Francisco. 138.

Note sur la Première Expédition de Béthencourt aux Canaries. 1846.
Avezac Macaya, Marie Armand Pascal d'. 70.

Notes on some Birds of the Canary Islands. 1889.
Meade-Waldo, Edmund Gustavus Bloomfield. 179.

Notes on the Birds of Teneriffe. 1887.
Reid, Savile G. 169.

Notes on the Distribution of the Amaryllideæ . . . in Grand Canary, etc. 1895.
Worsley, A. 217.

Notes on the Island of Palma. 1890.
Tristram, Henry Baker, *the Younger*. 188.

Notice sur les Caractères Hiéroglyphiques gravés sur les roches volcaniques aux Iles Canaries. 1875.
Berthelot, Sabin. 129.

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Viera y Clavijo, José de. 48, 92.

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Zuaznavar y Francia, José Maria de. 56.

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Vivien de Saint-Martin, Louis. 144.

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Berthelot, Sabin. 132.

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Hodgkin, Thomas, M.D. 69.

On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife. 1891.
Stuart, John Patrick Crichton, *Marquis of Bute*. 192.

The Origin and Miracles of the Holy Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, which appeared in the Island of Tenerife. 1907.
Espinosa, Alonso de. 236.

Origine des premiers Canariens. 1874.
Chil y Naranjo, Gregorio. 125.

Ornithological Notes on the Island of Gran Canaria. 1889.
Tristram, Henry Baker, *the Younger*. 183.

Orotava as a Health Resort. 1893.
Perez, Georges Victor. 206.

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Maffiotte, Luis. 234.

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Humboldt, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von, *Baron*. 84.

Physicalische Beschreibung der Canarischen Inseln. 1825.
Buch, Leopold von. 59.

Der Pik von Teneriffa. 1871.
Noll, Fr. C. 119.

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Morris, *Sir* Daniel, *K.C.M.G.* 215.

A Pleasant Description of the fortunate Ilandes. 1583.
Canary Islands. 10.

Los Primitivos habitantes de las Islas Canarias. 1884.
Calderon y Arana, Salvador. 160.

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Lyell, *Sir* Charles, *Bart.* 61, 130.

A Proclamation [by King Charles II.]. May 25, 1665.
Canary Islands. 29.

Purchas His Pilgrimage. 1626.
Purchas, Samuel, *the Elder*. 20.

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Faidherbe, Louis Léon César. 126.

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Lajard, Joseph. 196.

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Quatrefages de Bréau, Jean Louis Armand de. 167.

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Santa Cruz de Tenerife. 223.

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Greeff, Richard. 113.

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Ledru, André Pierre. 54.

Reise nach den Kanarien-Inseln. 1805.
Bory de Saint-Vincent, Jean Baptiste Marie George. 52.

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Fritsch, Karl von. 109.

Relacion de unos Letreros antiguos encontrados en la Isla de Hierro. 1874.
Padron, Aquilino. 128.

Relacion histórica de las Islas de Canaria. 1760.
Porlier, Antonio. 45.

Relacion que sereciblò en las ultimas embarcaciones de las Islas de Canarias. 1741.
Canary Islands. 42.

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Canary Islands. 13.

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Cadamosto, Luigi di. 211.

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Gomes, Bernardino Antonio, *the Younger.* 101.

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Bunbury, *Str* Charles James Fox, *Bart.* 89.

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Smyth, Charles Piazzi. 91.

Representacion histórico-política por la villa de la Orotava. 1750.
Franchy-Lugo, Juan Bautista. 43.

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Calderon y Arana, Salvador. 133.

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Gil Maestre, Alvaro. 224.

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Edwardes, Charles. 175.

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Mantegazza, Paolo. 111, 137.

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Thevet, André. 8.

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Murray, Elizabeth, *Mrs.* 93.

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Reumont, Alfred von. 143.

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Christ, Hermann. 165.

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Verneau, René. 152.

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Verneau, René. 153.

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El Tagasaste. 1879.
Pérez, Victor. 142.

Le Tagasaste. 1892.
Pérez, Victor. 197.

Tagasaste. 1893.
Morris, *Sir* Daniel, *K.C.M.G.* 205.

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Pérez, Victor. 177.

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Verneau, René. 200.

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Stone, Olivia M. 170, 182.

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Dugour, José Désiré. 85.

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Fritsch, Karl von. 110.

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Noll, Fr. C. 122.

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Sosa, José de. 32, 82.

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Quedenfeldt, M. 168.

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Meyer, Hans, *Dr. Phil.* 221.

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Simony, Oscar. 207.

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Berwerth, Fritz. 208.

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Ward, Osbert. 232.

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Christ, Hermann. 161.

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Feuillée, Louis. 40.

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Leclerq, Jules. 145.

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Sainte-Claire Deville, Charles Joseph. 80.

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Lemaire, Jacques Joseph. 37.

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Lemaire, Jacques Joseph. 166.

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Le Maire, Jacques Joseph. 35, 36.

Voyageurs Anciens et Modernes. 1869.
Charton, Edouard. 115.

Zur Entdeckung und Christianisirung der westafricanischen Inseln. 1877.
Lütolf, Alois. 136.

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OF

THE CANARY ISLANDS.

PART IV.

LIST OF OTHER WORKS QUOTED BY THE EDITOR,

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INDEX.

INDEX.

Abcanabac, 27
Abcanahac, 27, 28
Abed-edom, 52
Abinadab, of Gibeah, 52
Abona, Tenerife, beach of, 60; Image of Our Lady of the Cut found on the, 75; Mencey of, Atguaxona, viii, 36, 54, 82
Abreu de Galindo, Juan de, Guanche words preserved by, xx-xxvi; *Historia de la Conquista de las siete Islas de Gran Canaria*, 1632 (1848), vi, 20, 26, 28, 29, 35, 36
Ac, 29
Acaimo. *See* Acaymo.
Acaman, 29
Acaymo, Mencey of Guimar, 36, 89
Acguayaxerax, 29
Ach, 29
Achahucanac, 29
Achahurahan, 29
Achaman, 29, 30, 57
Achbinico, Cave of San Blas, Tenerife, 58, 59
Achguavaxerax, 29
Achguayaxerax, 30
Achi, 35
Achicaxna, peasants, 38
Achicuca, 35
Achimencei, nobles, 38
Achinach, Guanches, 20
Achmayex, 57
Achoron, 30, 57
Ac sonat, 27
Adelantado of the Canary Islands. *See* Lugo, Alonso de.
Adexe, Tenerife, 74; Guanche blood in, xv; Image of Our Lady of the Guide, near, 75; Mencey of, Arbitocazpe, viii, 36, 54, 82
Adexe, Santiago de, Tenerife, 120
Adxona, Lord of Abona, married Dacil, elder daughter of Imobac Bencomo, 103; their daughter, Catalina Bencomo, *ib.*
Aeneas, 22
Aeneid, 21, 22
Africa, Guanches said to come from, 27
Agache, Tenerife, boundaries of, 125
Agaete, Alonso de Lugo in charge of the Tower of, 88
Agoñe Yacoron Yñatzahaña Chacoñamet, xxv, 37
Agreda, Diego de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Aguer, Cape of. *See* Cape Ghir.
Aguirre, Lope de, joins Alonzo de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Agustin de la Cruz, Friar, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 12, 14
Albertos, Juan, Major-Domo of the Hermitage of Our Lady of Candelaria, 123; his ruin, *ib.*
Albornos, Francisco de, Juror of Tenerife, 1497, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Alfaro, Alonso de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Alfonso XI, *The Chronicle of Alfonso XI*. *See* Argote de Molina, Gonzalo.
Alforo, Alonso de, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100
Algava, Pedro de, Governor of Canaria, 87, 100; beheaded, *ib.*; father of Hieronimo de Valdez, 88, 110
Aloes, 24
Alonso de Castilla, Friar, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 12, 14
Alvarez, Fernando, Canon of Canaria, 1497, 61, 63, 64

Alvares de Fonseca, Juan, Governor of Tenerife, built the fort of Santa Cruz, 119
Alzanxiquian abcanabac xerax, xxv, 27
Aman, 29
America, Central, Espinosa in, vii
Ami, 28
Ampudia, Lord of, Don Diego de Ayala, 85
Ana, a ram, 37
Anaga, Tenerife. Lordship of, 82; Mencey of, viii, 36, 54; 1464, 82; his clemency to Spaniards, 83; does not attack the Spaniards, 1493, 91; Rocks of, 120; Serrated ridges of, iii
Anapa, 37
Añavingo, xvi
Añazo (Anaga), Tenerife, 82
Andalusia, vi; *La Nobleza de Andalusia. See* Argote de Molina, Gonzalo.
Angelate, Nicolas, of Genoa, finances Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 99
Angels, Processions of, on the seashore of Candelaria, 59, etc.
Anneiperfmivifof., 72
Antigua, Seville. *See* Santa Maria de la Antigua, Seville.
Antiguedades des de las Canarias, 1676. *See* Nuñez de la Peña, Juan.
Anton, Guanche convert, 56, etc.; sacristan of Our Lady of Candelaria, 59
Aprofito, 29
Aprofitus, 28
Apoimfri, 72
Arafo, Tenerife, Irrigation system of, xvi; Volcanic irruption, 1705, 25
Arbitocazpe, Mencey of Adexe, viii, 36, 54, 82
Arbutus Canariensis, iv
Archangel Michael, 77
Arevalo, Antonio de, 1497, 61, 63
Argote de Molina, Gonzalo, comment on Fernando Suarez de Figueroa, 11; his interpretations of three of the eight Inscriptions on the Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 73; *The Chronicle of Alfonzo XI.*, 73; editor, *Conde Lucanor*, by Prince Juan Manuel, one of the rarest books in the world, 73; editor, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, by Ruy Gonçalez de Clavijo, Sevilla, 1582, fol., 73; Letters to Gerónimo Zurita, 73; *Nobleza de Andaluzia*, F. Diaz, Sevilla, 1588, fol. [The British Museum copy is inscribed, "Taken from Cadiz, the 27th. of June, 1596, A. Throckmorton."], 11, 73
Àrias Marin y Cubas, Dr. Tomás, of Telde, Canaria, *Historia de las Siete Islas de Canaria*, MS., 1694, cited by Chil y Naranjo, xiv, 29
Arico, Tenerife, district of, 39; topography of, 120
Armas, Thomé de, of Gran Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 89; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114; witness to the Miracle of the Wax, 1497, 62
Arocha, Alonso de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Asculi, Princess of. *See* Fernandez de Lugo, Doña Porcia Magdalena.
Atguaxona, Mencey of Abona, viii, 36, 54, 82
Atlantic Islands, 21
Atlantic Ocean, 28, 29
Atlas, Mount, 22
Ayala, Don Diego de, Lord of Ampudia, brother of Diego de Herrera, 85
Azabache, 24
Azabuches, 24
Azurara. *See* Eannes, Gomes, *de Zurara.*

Badajos, Tenerife, Ravines of, xvi
Badajos, Juan de, Juror of Tenerife. 1497, 110
Banot, lance, 32, 37, 38
Barba de Campos, Pedro, Lord of Castro Forte, buys the Canaries from Maciot de Béthencourt, 84
Barcelona, Juan Benitez and Alonso de Lugo at, 77; Venetian ships bring crucifixes to, 78
Barker-Webb, Philip, and Berthelot, Sabin, *Histoire Naturelle des Isles Canaries*, 1835-1849, xiii, xiv, 25
Basque ship, saved by a miracle, 5
Batzenuhya, Overlord of Taoro (Orotava), 36
Batzenusia, Overlord of Taoro (Orotava), 36
Ben, 26
Bencomo. *See* Imobac Bencomo.
Benesmen, 34
Benitez, Alonzo, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Benitez, Bartolomé, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 88; survives battle of Centejo, 95; unable to join second

expedition, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Benitez, Juan, accompanies Alonso de Lugo to Spain from the Canaries, 77; purchases the Tenerife famous Crucifix at Barcelona, 78; survives battle of Centejo, 1493, 95
Benitez, Pedro, the one-eyed, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 88; saves de Lugo's life after battle of Centejo, 25, 110; his noble conduct, *ib.*; died fighting in Tagaos, 110; Magistrate of Tenerife, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, *ib.*
Ben Tahod, only son of Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife, 103; took names of Cristoval Hernando de Taoro, *ib.*; his wives and family, *ib.*
Bergeron, Pierre, *Parisien*, editor, Pierre Bontier, *Histoire . . . des Canaries*, Paris, 1630, 1629, i, 144
Berthelot, Sabin, and Philip Barker-Webb, *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canariens*, Paris, 1835-49, xiii, xiv, 25, 150
Betencourt, De. *See* Béthencourt, De.
Béthencourt, Jean de, i; receives grant of Canary Islands, with title of king, from Henry III., King of Leon and Castile, 1404, 84
Béthencourt, Maciot de, 84; succeeds Jean in Canaries, *ib.*; deposed by Juan II., *ib.*
Béthencourt, Menaut de. *See* Béthencourt, Maciot de.
Betsenubyra, Overlord of Taoro (Orotava), 36, 53, 54, 65
Biblioteca Isleña, Entrega 1-21, Santa Cruz de Tenerife, 1847-50, x, xi, 152
Birch, Dr. Walter de Gray, of the British Museum, edits the *Catalogue of a Collection of Original MSS., formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Canary Islands, purchased by the Marquis of Bute*, 2 vols., 1903, xix; searches for Guanche words for the Marquis of Bute, xviii
Blanco, Guillermo de, of Genoa, finances Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 99
Blandano, 29, 31
Blandanus, 29, 31
Bobadilla. Doña Leonor de, wife of Hernan Peraça, Lord of Gomera, 86
Boccaccio, Giovanni, *De Canaria et de insulis reliquis ultra Hispaniam in Oceano noviter repertis*, 1341, 1827 edn., 28, 150
Bojador, Cape, W. Africa, 88, 112
Bonda, Colombia, Highlands of, invaded by Garcia de Lerma, 112
Bontier, Pierre, Chaplain to Jean de Béthencourt, ii, 144, 158
Borrios, Rodrigo, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Bracamonte, Moser Rubin de. *See* Braquemont, Robert de.
Braquemont, Robert, Admiral of France, 1404, 84
Bravo, Gonzalo, of Gomera, 74
British Association, Anthropological Section, 1891, xviii
British Museum, Richard Henry Major, of the, ii, 158
Broom, iv.
Buenaventuradas, Atlantic Islands, 21
Buenavista, Tenerife, Topography of, 119; Vineyards of, 23
Buendia, Pedro Martin, kills Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife, at Laguna, Nov. 14, 1494, 102, 103; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Bufadero, Port of, Tenerife, Diego de Herrera at, 1464, 82
Bunbury, Sir Charles James Fox, 8th Bart. (1809-1886), *Remarks on the Botany of Tenerife*, Linnean Society Journal (Bot.), 1857, xiv
Bunbury, Sir Edward Herbert, 9th Bart. (1811-95), *A History of Ancient Geography*, 1879 (ii, 82), 21, 199
Bute, Marquis of. *See* Stuart, John Patrick Crichton.

Cabeza de Vaca, Don Luis, Bishop of Canarias (1523-1530), assigns the Holy Image of Candelaria to the Friars Preachers, 1530, 124, etc.
Cabo de la Vela, Colombia, 112
Caceres, Antonio de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Ça da Mosto, Luigi di, ii
Cadiz, Expedition of Earl of Essex to, 1596, King George III's copy (British Museum) of G. Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de Andalusia*, 1588, is inscribed "Taken from Cadiz, the 27th of June, 1596, A. Throckmorton, "ii, 73, 199; Island of, 1590, 20; Alonso de Lugo ships the Crucifix to, 78; Sertorius at, 21
Cahiz, 117
Cahizada, 117

Cala, Diego de, a foot-soldier, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Calatrava, Habit of, 11
Calvo, Father Vicente, Master Friar, 1544, 130
Canaria, ii, xvii, 20, 22, 28, 29; Cathedral Church of, 125; Dr. Fiesco, Historian of, 81; Island of, sold to King Fernando and Queen Isabel of Spain, 85; King of, Jean de Béthencourt, 1404, 84; Numerals of, 28
Canarian arbutus, iv
Canarian holly, iv
Canarians, or Guanches, 62
Canarias, Bishops of:—Mendo de Viedma (1415-1419), 84; Juan de Frias (1479-1485), 86; Miguel de la Cerda (*Sorra*), (1486-1488), 86; Luis Cabeza de Vaca (1523-1530), 124, etc.; Alonso Ruiz de Virues (1543-1545), 130; Diego Desa (1555-1564), 131; Fernando Suarez de Figueroa (1588-1596), 11
Canaries, birds, 23
Canario, a dance, 33
Canary Islands, *Antiguedades de las Canarias*, por Juan Nuñez de la Peña, 1676, vii; Bibliography of, i-xix, 139-201; Bishops of: *See* Canarias; Botany of, iv, v; in Humboldt, etc., xiv; bibliography of, xiv; *Catalogue of a Collection of Original MSS., formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Canary Islands, purchased by the Marquis of Bute. Edited by W. de Gray Birch*, 2 vols., 1903, xix; Cochineal industry of, 1826-74, xvi; ruined by aniline dyes, *ib.*; Entomology of, xv; *Estudios Historicos, Climatologicos y Patalogicos de las Islas Canarias*, por Gregorio Chil y Naranjo, 1876-79, xiii, xiv; Geology of, in Lyell, xiv; *Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canariens*, par Sabin Berthelot et Philip Barker-Webb, 1839-46, xiii; *Historia de las Islas Canarias*, por Agustin Millares, 1893-95, xiv; History of, ii, xiii; *The History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands*, by George Glas, 1764, xi-xiii; Inquisition, Holy Office of the, Proceedings, 1499-1693, xix, 42; Irrigation system of the, xvi, xvii; *Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas da Canaria*, por José de Viero y Clavijo, 1772-83, xiii; *On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife*, by Marquis of Bute, 1891, xviii; *Plants and Gardens of the Canary Islands*, by Sir D. Morris, 1895, xiv; Wine of the, highly prized, about 1820, xvi
Cancha, Guanche dogs, 108
Candelabra, iv
Candelaria, Tenerife, 43; angel processions on sea-shore of, 59, etc.; Our Lady of Candelaria:—abduction of Image to Fuerteventura, 66; Chapel of, vii; date of appearance of Image, 47; description of Image, 70-73, 137, 138; fate of Image, 1829, x, xi; festival of, August 15th, x; the Friars Preachers become the owners of the Holy Image, 1530, 124-127; origin and appearance of Image, 12, 45, etc.; Petition for a History of, 1590, 12, etc.; removal of the Image from the Cave of San Blas, 121-123; table of the sixty-five Miracles in Book IV, A. de Espinosa, *Origin and Miracles*, 1594, 5-7; Pilgrim with wounded leg healed, 5; Topography of, 120
Cape Bojador, W. Africa, 88, 112
Cape Ghir (Cape of Aguer), Morocco, 88, 112
Cape of Aguer, Africa. *See* Cape Ghir, Morocco.
Cape Verde, 51, 75
Carbusanos, 24
Cardon, iv
Carrasco, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Carriado, Father Friar Hieronimo, 1544, 130
Carthage, 22
Casanova, Fray Bartolomé, Provincial of the Order of San Francisco, Canaries, 1590, 77
Casas, Bartolomé de Las, Bishop of Chiapa (1474-1566), *Brevissima relacion de la destruycion de las Indias*, 1552, ix
Casas, Guillen de Las, purchases the Canaries, 84
Caseloria, wife of Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife, 103; her children, *ib.*
Casperia, 22, 28, 29
Castellano, Guillen, Interpreter, in service of Pedro de Vera, 1483, 86; of Alonso de Lugo, 1493, 90; survives battle of Centejo, 95; at Realejo, 106; of the first invasion, 109; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113; magistrate of

Tenerife, *ib.*; a Land Commissioner of Tenerife, 1502, 117
Castilla, Friar Alonso de, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 12, 14
Castillo, Gonzalo, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Castillo Ruiz de Vergara, Pedro Agustin de, *Descripcion Historica y Geografica de las Islas de Canaria*, 1709, xi, 152
Castro Forte, Lord of, Pedro Barba de Campos, 84
Catalina, Queen of Leon and Castile, 84
Catalina Bencomo, daughter of Dacil, and of Adxona, Lord of Abona, 103; married Fernan Garcia Izquierdo del Castillo, *ib.*; her four children, *ib.*
Catalina, daughter of Maria, younger daughter of Imobac Bencomo, 103
Centejo, Tenerife, 36; battle of, 1493, 90, etc.; 107; topography of, 119
Central America, Espinosa in, vii
Cerda, Luis de la. *See* Luis de la Cerda.
Cerda, Miguel de la (*Sorra*), Bishop of Canarias (1486-1488), 86
Cha, 20
Chacarquem, xxi, 33
Chazna, Tenerife, 120
Che, 26
Chenerfe, v, 20
Chenerif, 20
Chil y Naranjo, Dr. Don Gregorio, *Estudios Historicos, Climatalogicos y Patologicos de las Islas Canarias*, Las Palmas, 1876-79, xiii, xiv
Child, drowned, restored to life, 5
Chineche, 20
Chinguaro, residence of the Lord of Guimar, 53, 59
Christ, Dr. Hermann, xiv, 177
Ciampi, Sebastiano, editor, *Monumenti d'un Manoscritto Autografo di Messer Gio. Boccacci*, Firenze, 1827, 28, 150
Cichiciquitzo, knights, xxii, 38
Cieza de Leon, Pedro de, vi, 199
Cineraria, iv
Cistus, iv
Cithiciquico, knights, xxii, 38
Clavijo, *the Embassy of Clavijo to Timour*. *See* Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy.
Collarapa, daughter of Ben Tahod, married Juan Doramas, 103
Concepcion, Church of Our Lady of. *See* Laguna.
Conde Lucanor. *See* Juan Manuel, Prince.
Conquerors of Tenerife, list of, 111-116
Consolacion, 70
Cristoval Hernandez. *See* Deriman.
Crucifix, Convent of San Francisco, Tenerife, 76-78
Cruz, Agustin de la. *See* Agustin de la Cruz.
Cuba, 112
Cuca, 35
Cucaha, 35
Cuesta, 89, 101
Cumbre, Tenerife, 23
Cura, 63
Cuttlefish, 24
Cyllenius (Mercury), 21, 22
Cytisus fragrans, iv
Cytisus proliferus, iv, xiv, xv, 24

Dacil, elder daughter of Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife, and of Caseloria, married Adxona, Lord of Abona, 103; her daughter, Catalina Bencomo, *ib.*
Dagon, god of the Philistines, 67
Dara, Juan. *See* Dura.
Daute, Tenerife, 119; Convent of Friars Preachers of San Pedro, 76; Factory of Gaspar Fuente de Ferrara at, 119; Mencey of, viii, 36; 1464, 82; Vineyards of, 23; a woman of, recovers her son by a miracle, 6
David, King of Israel, 52
Dedos, 70
Delgado, Diego, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Deriman, baptised as Cristoval Hernandez, son of Ben Tahod, 103; married Guaymina, of Guimar, *ib.*
Desa, Don Diego, Bishop of Canarias (1555-1564), 131
Diana, Image of, at Ephesus, x
Diaz del Castillo, Bernal, v, 200
Disindores, 130
Dominicans, vii, xi, 14
Doramas, Juan, a Canarian auxiliary, married Collarapa, daughter of Ben Tahod, 103
Draco Trees, 24; Draco wood, 38
Dragon Tree, of Oratava, in the garden of the Marquis de Sauzal, 37. [For a picture of this famous tree, *see* R. Verneau, *Cinq Années*, 1891, p. 280.]

Dragon Trees, iv, 24, 37
Dryden, John (1631-1700), 22
Dublin, xiii
Dundas, Sir David Q.C., M.P. (1799-1877), President of the Hakluyt Society, i
Dura, Juan, of Gran Canaria, formerly called Dutindana, joins Alonso de Lugo, 89; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Dutindana (Dura), Juan, of Gran Canaria, 89, 115

Eafm. Irenini Fmearei, 71
Eannes, Gomes, *de Zurara, Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, 1841, ii. 151, 170
Ech, 30
Echeyde, 30
El Socorro, 47, 53
Eli, High Priest of Israel, 124
Elisabeth, of Portugal (b. 1503, d. 1539), wife of Charles V., Empress of Germany and Queen of Spain and Naples (1526-39), confirms the grant of the Hermitage of Candelaria to the Friars Preachers, 1536, 128
Elysian Fields, 21
Empress of Germany, and Queen of Spain and Naples. *See* Elisabeth, of Portugal.
England, Canary wine exported to, 23
Engler, Adolph, Jahrbücher, xiv, 178
Envpmti, 72
Ephesus, Image of Diana at, x
Epnmpir, 72
Eruas, Pedro de, of Gran Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1496, 89; witness to the Miracle of the Wax, 1497, 62
Escabon, iv, 24
Estudios Historicos, Climatologicos y Patalogicos de las Islas Canarias, 1876-79. *See* Chil y Naranjo, Gregorio.
Espinosa, Alonso de, in Guatemala, vii, 10; *Del Origen y Milagros de la Santa Imagen de nuestra Señora de Candelaria*, 1594, vi, xix; analysis of his history, ix, etc., 12; Table of the 65 Miracles, Book iv. 5-7; Guanche words preserved by, xx-xxvi
Estopiñan, Bartolomé de, Captain, 1494, 99
Estrada, Alonso de las hijas, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113, 114
Euphorbia Canariensis, iv, 24
Eyde, 30

Fanegadas, 117
Fanegas, 23
Fasnea, volcano of, 25
Fauns, iv
Fè, mountain, 20
Ferdinand V., of Castile (II. of Aragon), the Catholic, King of Spain, jointly with his wife, Isabella of Castile, 1479-1516), purchases Canaria, Palma, and Tenerife from Inez Peraça, 85
Feria, Count of, 1468, ii
Feria, Dukes of, Ancestry of, ii
Fernandez, Diego, native of Fuerteventura, 1497, 61, 62
Fernandez, Pedro, native of Fuerteventura, 1497, 61, 62
Fernandez de la Guerra, Lopez, a Conqueror of Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; sells his estates in Canaria, to help de Lugo, 105, 109; his adventure at Realejo, 106, 107; rewarded by estates of De Guerra, which he entailed, 110; Magistrate of Tenerife, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, *ib.*; a Land Commissioner of Tenerife, 1502, 117
Fernandez de Lugo, Don Alonso Luis, son of Pedro Fernandez de Lugo, 112; his gold raid in Ramada, *ib.*; Governor of Santa Marta, *ib.*
Fernandez de Lugo, Don Luis, son of Alonso Luis Fernandez de Lugo, 112
Fernandez de Lugo, Don Pedro, son of Alonso de Lugo, Conqueror of Santa Marta, 112
Fernandez de Lugo, Doña Porcia Magdalena, Princess of Asculi and Duchess of Terra Nova, 112
Fernando, Don, King. *See* Ferdinand V., of Castile.
Fiesco, Dr., Historian of Canaria, 81
Florence, Angiolino del Tegghia dei Corbizzi, of, 1341, 28
Fogo, Island, 75
Fortunatæ Insulæ, 28
Fortunate Isles, 45
France, Juan Benitez serves with Alonso de Lugo in, 77; Canary wine exported to, 23
Franciscan, at Fuerteventura, helped by Our Lady of Candelaria, 7

Franciscans, vi, 77
Friars Preachers. *See* Order of Preachers.
Frias, Don Juan de, Bishop of Canarias (1479-1485), 86
Fuente, Alonso de la, Public Notary of Tenerife, 1497, 119; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Fuente, Fray Diego de la, Vicar-Provincial of Canaria, 1530, 125
Fuente de Ferrara, Gaspar, knight of Aragon, owner of factory at Daute, 119
Fuentes, Lope de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Fuerteventura, ii, 20; Jean de Béthencourt conquers, 84; bought by Spain from France, 56; Church of San Salvador, 66, 67; Franciscan helped by a miracle, 7; Image of Our Lady of Candelaria turns its face to the wall at, 7; *Mahoreros* or natives of, 65, 67, 100
Fvpmirna, 72

Galdar, Canaria, Alonso de Lugo's estates in, 1493, 98, 111
Galicia, Lugo, city of, 111
Galindo, Juan de Abreu de. *See* Abreu de Galindo, Juan de.
Gallego, The Comendador, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Gallego, Lope, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Gamonales, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Garachico, Tenerife, cripple cured by a miracle, 6; Image of Our Lady in, 74, etc.; man healed by a miracle, 5; sailor restored to life by Our Lady of Candelaria, 6; topography of, 118; volcanic irruption at, 25
Garcia, Cristoval, ejects the Friars Preachers, 1539, 129
Garcia de la Puebla, Gonzalo, Public Notary, Canaria, 1494, 99
Garcia de Samarinas, Pedro, ejects Friars Preachers, 1539, 129
Gaspar, Friar, of the Order of Preachers, 1530, 126
Genoa, four merchants of, finance Alonso de Lugo in his second expedition to Tenerife, 1494, 99
Geroiguilla, 71
Ghir, Cape, Morocco, 88, 112
Gibeah, 52
Gil de Santa Cruz, Friar, 1545, 130
Glas, George, vii, xi-xiii, 147; biography of, xi-xiii; his murder, xii
Gofio, 28, 33
Gomera, 20, 99; Jean de Béthencourt at, iii, 84; Gonzalo Bravo, of, 74; inhabitants of, oppressed by Pedro de Vera, 86; Lord of, Hernan Peraça, 86; men thrown into the sea saved by a miracle, 7
Gomez, Don Maximo, xvi
Gomez, Don Ramon, chemist and antiquary, of Puerto Orotava, xvii; his collection of Guanche skulls, 1906, *ib.*
Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy, *Historia del Gran Tamorlan*, 1582, 73
Gonzalez de Llarena, Diego, of Orotava, one of the heirs of Alonso de Llarena, 116
Goodenough, James Graham, prepares an edition of Béthencourt, i; biographical note on, i; his heroic death, 1875, *ib.*
Governor of the Conquest, Alonso de Lugo, 88, 100, 111
Gran Canaria, Convent of San Pedro Martyr, 1539, 129
Granadilla, Tenerife, topography of, 120
Greece, Saint Paul, Apostle of, 46
Grimon, Gorge, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Grorualan, Francisco de, Chief Magistrate of Tenerife, 1497, 109
Guadaloupe, Our Lady of, 46
Guadaloupe, Santa Maria de, Church of, 63
Guadamoxete, 32
Guadarteme, joins Alonso de Lugo, at Gran Canaria, 1496, 89
Guan, v, 26, 28
Guañameña, Guanche prophet, 54
Guanche Mummies, xvii, 40, 41
Guanchenerfe, v
Guanches, agriculture of the, 34, 35; not attacked by Jean de Béthencourt, 1404, iii; clothing of the, 32; cross-bow terrifies the, 1493, 97; customs of the, 26-35; defeat the Spaniards at Centejo, 1493, 91, etc.; etymology of their name, v; food of the, 32, 33; their mode of interment, xvii, 40, 41; language of, xiii; a few words preserved by J. de Abreu de Galindo, the Marquis of Bute, G. Chil y Naranjo, A. de Espinosa, and A. de Viana, xviii, xix; remnants of the Guanche language, xx-xxvi; the nine Guanche sentences, xxv, xxvi; laws of the, 30; lords and lordships of the, 36-39; marriage customs of the, 35;

numerals of the, 28; origin of the, v; lose the Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 66; pestilence and war devastate the, xv; pottery of, xvii; gradations of rank, 38; religion of the, 29, 30; shepherds discover Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 47, etc.; skulls, Ramon Gomez collection of, 1906, xvii; state of the, in the time of Espinosa, 1591, 120; subjugation of the, by the Spaniards, 1495, 107, etc.; survival of, mainly in Guimar, xv, 120; two, crippled for sacrilege by Our Lady of Candelaria, 7; warlike exercises of, 31, 39

Guanchetinerf, 26

Guian, 27

Guatemala, Espinosa in, vii, 10

Guaya, 29, 30

Guayaxerax, 57

Guaymina, of Guimar, wife of Deriman, son of Ben Tahod, 103

Guayota, 30

Guillen, Juan, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115

Guimar, Tenerife, 39; Anton comes to territory of, 57; Guanche blood in, xv, 120; irrigation system of, xvi, xvii; Kings of, ancient burial-place of, 32; Ladara de, 25; Mencey of, viii; honours new-found Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 49-51, 52-55; convokes Lords of Tenerife, 54; his vigilant care of the Image, 68, 69; Lord of Las Lanzadas, 1464, 82; Acaimo, Lord of Guimar, confirms his treaties with Diego de Herrera, 1493, 89; people of lordship of, remained neutral, but joined Spaniards after victory of Laguna, 1494, 103; topography of, 120; volcanic irruption, 1705, 25; Luke White, of, xv

Guinea, Canary wine exported to, 23

Guzman, Don Juan, Duke of Medina Sidonia, assists Alonso de Lugo in his second Tenerife expedition, 1494, 99

Hamadryads, iv

Hell, Island of, 25

Henry III., the Sickly, King of Leon and Castile (1390-1406), father of Juan II., grants Canaries to Jean de Béthencourt, with title of king, 1404, 84

Henry IV., the Impotent, King of Leon and Castile (1454-1474), creates Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa Count of Feria, 1468, ii

Hermitage of El Socorro, Tenerife, 47, 53, 59, 89, 100, 104

Hermitage of Grace, Tenerife, 89

Hermitage of Our Lady of the Victory, Realejo, 1495, 107

Hernandez de Saavedra, Don Pedro, a knight of Seville, husband of Doña Constanza Sarmiento de Herrera, 86; ordered by Maldonado to attack Tenerife, 87

Hernando, Don, brother of Don Pedro, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114

Herrera, Diego de, brother of Diego de Ayala, 85; husband of Inez Peraça, heiress of the Canaries, 84; father of Constanza Sarmiento Hernandez de Saavedra, 86; Lord of Canary Islands, except Tenerife, treats with Lords of Tenerife, 1464, 82

Herrera, Sancho de, son of Diego de Herrera, lands at Tenerife, 82, 83; Lord of Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, captures the Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 64, etc.; restores the Image, 68, etc.

Herrera, Zambrana, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113

Hierro, 20; Jean de Béthencourt at, iii, 84

Hijas, Alonso de las. *See* Estrada.

Hissora, Tenerife, 75

Histoire Naturelle des Iles Canariens, 1835-49. *See* Barker-Webb, Philip.

Historia de la Conquista de las siete Islas de Gran Canaria, 1632. *See* Abreu de Galindo, Juan de.

Historia de las Islas Canarias, 1893-95. *See* Millares Cubas, Agustin.

History of the Discovery and Conquest of the Canary Islands, 1764. *See* Glas, George.

Holy Image of Candelaria. *See* Candelaria.

Holy Office. *See* Inquisition.

Homer, on the Canary Islands, 21

Horticultural Society, Journal of the, 1895, xiv, 169

Hoyo, Hernando del, of the Royal Household, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 88; survives battle of Centejo, 95; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113

Huerta, Garcia de la, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115

Humboldt, Friedrich Heinrich Alexander von, *Baron*, Personal Narrative, 1852, iii, xiv, 153

Iaebnpfm, 72
Iberians, v
Icod, Tenerife, 27; Image of San Gonzalo de Amarante, 76; Image of San Marcos at, 75; Mencey of, viii, 36; 1464, 82
Icod de los Vinos, sick people healed by a miracle, 5; topography of, 118, 119
Icod on the Height, Tenerife, 119
Ida, 30
Ife, white or snow, 20
Ilex Canariensis, iv
Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife, and Lord of Taoro (Orotava):—makes a treaty with Diego de Herrera, 1464, 82; his spirited interview with Alonso de Lugo, 89; defeats Spaniards at Centejo, 1493, 91, etc.; his humanity to the Spaniards, 96; killed by Pedro Martin Buendia, at battle of Laguna, Nov. 14, 1494, 102, 103; his family, 103; succeeded by his brother, Tinquaro, 103; his personal appearance described by Viana, 103
India, Saint Thomas and Saint John the Evangelist, Apostles of, 46
Indies, Canary wine exported to the, 23; route to the, 51; ship bound for the, saved by a miracle, 5
Inez Hernandez Tacoronte, second wife of Ben Tahod, only son of Imobac Bencomo, 103
Infanta, Dr., Judge, of San Domingo, at Santa Marta, 112
Inquisition, Holy, Canary Islands, xix, 42, 171
Inranfr., 72
Inscriptions, Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 71-73
Isabella, of Castile, the Catholic, Queen of Leon and Castile (1474-1504), Queen of Spain, jointly with her husband, Ferdinand V. (1479-1504), purchases Canaria, Palma, and Tenerife from Inez Peraça, 85
Island of Hell, 25
Israel, people of, 67
Italy, 27; images of, 131; voyage of Aeneas to, 22
Izquierdo del Castillo, Fernan Garcia, captain of cavalry, his romantic marriage with Catalina Bencomo, 103; their four children, *ib.*

Jet, 24
Jewess, deaf and dumb, cured of a devil, at Laguna, 5
Journal of the Horticultural Society, 1895, xiv, 169
Journal of the Linnean Society, Botany, 1856, xiv
Joven, Anton, Magistrate, of Laguna, 1535, 127
Joven, Jayme, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Juan II., King of Leon and Castile (1406-1454), son of Henry III., 84; deposes Maciot de Béthencourt, *ib.*
Juan de Saboya, friar, of the Order of Preachers, 1530, 126
Juan Manuel, Prince, author of *Conde Lucanor*, edited by Gonzalo Argote de Molina, one of the rarest books in the world, 73
Juba, King, in Pliny, ii
Juniper, 24
Juniperus cedrus, iv
Junonis, 22, 28
Jupiter, 22
Justinian, Emperor, 22, 29

Kalendar, the, 28
King of Canaria, Jean de Béthencourt, 1404. 84
Kings, First Book of Kings, ch. v, 67; Second Book of, ch. vi, 52

Ladara de Guimar, Tenerife, 25
Laguna, Tenerife, city, iii, xvi, 61, 118, 125, etc.; battle of, Nov. 14, 1494, Guanches defeated by Alonso de Lugo, 101, etc.; the Chaplain of, ejects the Friars Preachers, 1539, 129; convent of Santo Domingo, 76; possesses orginal of transfer of the Holy Image of Candelaria to the Friars Preachers, 1530, 126; archives of, 127; deaf and dumb Jewess cured by a miracle, 5; deformed man, do., *ib.*; a sick man healed, *ib.*; a sick woman healed, *ib*; Alonso de Llarena, Licentiate of, 116; Los Remedios, parochial church, 23; book of the visitations, 1530, 125, etc.; Alonso de Lugo's troops march to, 1494, 100; municipality grant the Hermitage of Candelaria to the Friars Preachers, 1534-36, 127, 128; Our Lady of Concepcion, church of, xviii; book of the visitations, 1530,

125; San Benito, church, 23; seat of government under Alonso de Lugo, 1496, 109
Lanzadas, Las, Lord of, Lord of Guimar, 82
Lanzarote, ii, 20; Jean de Béthencourt resides in, 84; bought by Spain from France, 56; *Mahoreros*, or natives of, 65, 67, 100; sick woman cured by Our Lady of Candelaria, 6
La Rambla, Tenerife, 36; vineyards of, 23
Las Casas. *See* Casas.
Las Mercedes, forest of, Tenerife, 103
Las Palmas, Gran Canaria, xiii, xiv, 99
La Torre, Alonso de Lugo, Alcalde of, 111
Laurestina, iv
Laurus Canariensis, iv
Leçama, Friar Tomas, Vicar of the Convent of Our Lady of Candelaria, 1590, 12, 14
Lengua, Pedro de la, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Lentiscos, 24
Leon and Castile, Kings of: Henry III., the Sickly (1390-1406), 84; Juan II. (1406-1454), 84; Henry IV., the Impotent (1454-1474), 11
Leon, Alvaro de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Leon, Diego de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Lepas, 24
Lercaro, Dr. Francisco, Lieutenant of Tenerife, signs Commission of Espinosa, May 25, 1590, 15, 16
Lerma, Garcia de, Governor of Santa Marta, 112
Le Verrier, Jean, chaplain to Jean de Béthencourt, ii, 144, 151, 158
Ligno-aloe, 24
Limes, 24
Linnean Society, Journal of the, Botany, 1856, xiv
Llarena, Alonso de, knight, nephew and heir of Hernando de Llarena, 116; several times lieutenant to the Adelantado, *ib.*; his numerous estates, *ib.*
Llarena, Alonso de, of Laguna, Licentiate, Magistrate of Tenerife, Captain of Cavalry, heir to Alonso de Llarena, knight, 116
Llarena, Diego Gonzalez de. *See* Gonzalez de Llarena.
Llarena, Hernando de, joins Alonzo de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113; uncle of Alonso de Llarena, 116
Llarena, Luis de San Martin. *See* San Martin Llarena.
Los Remedios, parochial church, Laguna, 23; book of the visitations, 1530, 125
Lopez, Friar Antonio, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 12, 14
Loreto, image at, 45
Lpvrinenipepneifant, 71
Lucena, Christoval de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Lugo, Galicia, city, 111
Lugo, Don Alonso de, Adelantado of the Canary Islands, 1497, biography of, iii, 112; his daughter cured by Our Lady of Candelaria, 6; descendants of, 112; as Adelantado present at attestation of Miracle of the Wax, 1497, 61; at Agaete, 88; proceeds to the Spanish Court, *ib.*; commisioned as Governor of the Conquest and Captain-General from Cape of Aguer to Cape Bojador, 1492, *ib.*; his progress in the Canary Islands, 88, etc.; his landing at Tenerife, 89, etc.; defeated by Bencomo at Centejo, 1493, 91, etc.; conducted to Santa Cruz after his defeat at Centejo, 95; his second expedition, 1494, 98, etc.; his victory at Laguna, 101, etc.; at Realejo, 1495, 107, etc.; his survey of Tenerife, 117, etc.
Lugo, Alonzo de, 1590, decendant of Christóval de Valcaçar, 116
Lugo, Anna de, niece of Alonso de Lugo, marries Pedro de Vergara, 112
Lugo, Fernandez de. *See* Fernandez de Lugo.
Luis, Pedro, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Luis de la Cerda, Don, eldest son of Alfonso de la Cerda, Admiral of France, 1341, received from Pope Clement IV., 1344, the title of King of the Fortunate Islands, rightful King of Spain, ii
Lyell, Sir Charles, *Bart.*, *F.R.S.*, *Principles of Geology*, 1830, 1875, xiv, 159

Maclonio, 29, 31
Maclonius, Beatus, 29, 31
Madeira, 21

Madrono, iv
Mahо, shoe, 65
Mahoreros, 65, 67, 100
Major, Richard Henry, *F.S.A.*, of the British Museum (1818-1891), edits Béthencourt, ii, 158
Maldonado, Francisco, Governor of Canaria, succeeds Pedro de Vera, 86
Maninidra, Pedro, of Gran Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 89; his conduct at battle of Centejo, 1493, 92; served in Barbary, 93; witness to the Miracle of the Wax, 1497, 62
Marago, 28
Marava, 28
Maria, younger daughter of Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Tenerife and of Caseloria, 103; married a Guanche, *ib.*; her daughter, Catalina, *ib.*
Marin, Pedro, Friar, of the Order of Preachers, Vicar Provincial of the Islands of Canaria, commissions Espinosa to be historian of Our Lady of Candelaria, 10, etc.
Marín y Cubas, Dr. Tomás, of Telde, *Historia de las Siete Islas de Canaria*, MS., 1694, cited by Chil y Naranjo, xiv, 29, 146
Marquez, Alonso, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Marrero, Dr. Claudio, priest of the Church of the Conception, Laguna, supplies forty Guanche words to the Marquis of Bute, xviii
Martilogium, 22
Martin, Anton, of Abona, married Ramagua, daughter of Ben Tahod, 103
Martin, Francisco, ejects the Friars Preachers, 1539, 129
Martin, Pablo, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Mastick, 24
Matanza, Tenerife, topography of, 119
Matanza de Centejo, La, Tenerife, origin of name, 1493, 93
Mauritania, v
Mayor, Pedro, of Gran Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 89; witness to the Miracle of the Wax, 1497, 62
Meade-Waldo, Edmund Gustavus Bloomfield, cited, xv, 165, 168
Mecei, 36
Medicean Portolano, 1351, ii
Medina, Hernando de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Medina Sidonia, Duke of, 84
Melian, Francisco, a foot-soldier, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Mencey, Lord, 38, 102
Mencey, of Guimar, *etc.*, viii, 36
Mendez Castellano, Gonzalo, of Gran Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 89; witness to the Miracle of the Wax, 1497, 62
Mendo, Fray. *See* Viedma, Mendo de.
Mercedes, Las, forest of, Tenerife, 103
Mercury, 21, 22
Mesa, Diego de, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; magistrate of Tenerife, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, *ib.*
Mesa, Francisco de, a mounted knight, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Mexia, Gonzalo, joins Alonso de Lugo, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Mexia, Pedro, of Tenerife, 1497, 63; Magistrate, 1497, 109, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Mexico, described by Bernal Diaz, v
Milan, 28
Millares Cubas, Don Agustin, of Las Palmas, *Historia de las Islas Canarias*, Las Palmas, 1893-95, xiv, 161, 168
Miracle, of the Wax, Tenerife, 1497, 61, etc.
Miracles, Table of the 65, Book iv. A. de Espinosa, *The Origin and Miracles*, etc., 1594, 5-7
Mocan, iv, 33
Molina, Tomas de, Master Friar, Vicar Provincial, 1545, 130; 1558, 131
Monserrat, Our Lady of, 45, 70
Montaño, Rodrigo, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Moor, A, converted by a miracle at Realejo, 6
Moorish girl, cured by a miracle, 5
Morera, Friar Miguel, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 12, 14
Morris, Sir Daniel, *K. C. M. G.*, *Plants and Gardens of the Canary Islands* (Journal of the Horticultural Society), 1895, xiv, 169
Muros, Don Diego de, 4th Bishop of the Canary Islands, 1497, 63
Myrica Faya, iv
Myrtle, iv

Naga, Cape, Tenerife, 20
Narmprlmotare, 71
Navarro, Juan, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Nbimei, 72
Negron, Diego, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Nerife, 20
Nipian, 72
Nivaria (Tenerife), 17, 43, 79; origin of name, 18, 19
Nobleza de Andaluzia. *See* Argote de Molina, Gonzalo.
Notelœa excelsa, 24
Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas da Canaria, 1772. *See* Viero y Clavijo, José de.
Ntrhn, 72
Nuestra Señora, Adexe, 74
Nuñez, Juan, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Nuñez, Rodrigo, of Laguna, 1536, 128
Nuñez de la Peña, Juan, Licentiate, native of Laguna, *Antiguedades de las Canarias*, 1676, vii, 27, 145, 152
Nvinapimlifinvipi, 72

Oantinada, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Obsidian Knife, 34
Olea excelsa 24
Olivera, Luis de, notary and public scrivener, at Ossuna, 1544, 130
Olivos, Hernando de los, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Olm, 72
On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife, 1891. *See* Stuart, John P. C., *Marquis of Bute*.
Order of Preachers, Friars of the, 10-16; the Order acquires the Holy Image of Candelaria, 1530, 124-127
Order of Saint Dominic, vii, xi, 14, 76
Orotava, Tenerife, viii, 36; Lord Bute's derivation of name of, 37; fishermen of, 74; Diego Gonzalez de Llarena, of, 116; Alonso de Lugo advances to, 106; Marquis of Sauzal's garden at, 37; (Taoro), Overlord of, viii, 36. *See* also Batzenuhya: Betsenubyra: Imobac Bencomo; plague in, 1494, 104; topography of, 118; vineyards of, 23
Ortega, Benito de, public notary, Tenerife, 1590, 16
Ortega, Juan de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Ortiz, Francisco, Bachiller, Vicar-General of Canaria, 1530, 126
Ortiz, Father Friar Vicente, 1544, 130
Ossuna, Provincial Chapter at, June 6, 1544, 130
Ossuna y van den Heede, Don Manuel de, 165; supplies eighty-six Guanche words to the Marquis of Bute, xviii
Our Lady of Candelaria. *See* Candelaria.
Our Lady of Concepcion, Parochial Church of, Laguna, xviii; Book of the Visitations, 1530, 125
Our Lady of Grace, 100, 104
Our Lady of Loreto, 45
Our Lady of Monserrat, 45, 70
Our Lady of the Cut, Abona, 75
Our Lady of the Guide, near Adexe, 75
Our Lady of the Victory, Hermitage of, Realejo, 1495, 107

Paez, Garcia, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Palacios, Gomez de, Licentiate, Lieutenant of Gran Canaria, 1590, 16
Palençuela. *See* Palenzuela.
Palenzuela, Bernardo de, public notary, Gran Canaria, 1590, 16
Palenzuela, Lorenzo de, magistrate, of Laguna, 127
Palestine, crucifixes from, shipped from Venice to Barcelona, 78
Palma, 20; Juan de Abreu de Galindo resident in, vi; Jean de Béthencourt at, iii; child cured of fever by Our Lady of Candelaria, 6; cripple cured by Our Lady of Candelaria, 6; Governor of, Alonso de Lugo, 1497, 61; Island of, sold to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel of Spain, 85; volcanic irruption in, 1585, 25, 26
Palmas, Las, Gran Canaria, xiii, xiv, 99
Palmeses, 20
Palmos, 70, 72, 75
Palomar, Francisco de, of Genoa, finances Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 99
Palomiño, Governor of Santa Marta, 112
Palos Blancos, 24
Parraga, Fernando de, public notary, Tenerife, 1464, 82

Pascual, Juan, of Gran Canaria, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1496, 89 ; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Paul III., Pope (1534-1549), ratifies grant to Friars Preachers, 1536, 128 ; 1554, 130
Pedro, Don, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, brother of Don Hernando, 114
Peña de Francia, 70
Peraça, Don Hernan, father of Doña Inez Peraça, purchases the Canaries from Guillen de Las Casas, 84 ; Hernan, Lord of Gomera, husband of Doña Leonor de Bobadilla, 86 ; kills Captain Juan Rejon, 88
Peraça, Doña Inez, daughter of Hernan Peraça, inherits Canaries, 84 ; marries Diego de Herrera, *ib.* : her lawsuit in Castile, 85; Queen of the Canary Islands, received by Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, *ib.* ; sells Canaria, Palma, and Tenerife to the Sovereigns, *ib.* ; retains Fuerteventura, Gomera, Hierro, and Lanzarote, *ib.* ; mother of Constanza Sarmiento Hernandez de Saavedra, 86
Perdoma, Juan, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100 ; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Perez, Dr. George Victor, xiv, 24, 167, 168
Perez, Hernan, a knight of Seville, bought the Canaries from Pedro Barba de Campos, 84
Persea Indica, iv, 24
Personal Narrative. *See* Humboldt.
Philistines, 67
Pineda, Hieronimo de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Pintuaria, 28, 29
Pinus Canariensis, iv
Pivnian, 72
Plants and Gardens of the Canary Islands, 1895. *See* Morris, Sir D.
Plinius Secundus, Caius, on the Canary Islands, ii, 154
Pluitula, 22
Plutarch, Life of Sertorius, on the Canary Islands, ii, 21, 143
Ponte, Christoval de, of Genoa, a friend of Alonso de Lugo, married Ana de Vergara, 115
Ponte, Pedro de, Perpetual Governor of the fortress of Santiago de Adexe, 1591, 120
Port of Wax, Tenerife, 60
Portolano, Medicean, 1351, ii
Porto Santo, Island, 21
Portugal, Elisabeth of, Empress of Germany, 128 ; Alfonso IV., King of, (1290-1357), authorised a voyage to the Canary Islands, 1341, 28
Portuguese, at Garachico, 75
Portuguese Saint, A, San Gonzalo de Amarante, 76
Portuguese ship, freed from the French by a miracle, 5
Preachers, Order of, Friars of the, 10-16 ; the Order acquires the Holy Image of Candelaria, 1530, 124-127
Principles of Geology, 1830. *See* Lyell, Sir Charles, Bart., F.R.S.
Puerto Orotava, xvii
Puituaria, 22
Punta Roja, Tenerife, 60

Quebehi, your Highness, xxiv, 38, 89
Quebehic, 36
Quebihi, 89
Queen of the Canary Islands, Doña Inez Peraça, 85
Quentos de maravedis, 85
Quevehiera, your Highness, xxiv, 38
Quien a su enemigo popa a sas manco muere, 91

Ramada, Colombia, Province of, 112
Ramagua, daughter of Ben Tahod, married Anton Martin, of Abona, 103
Realejo, Tenerife, Alonso de Lugo's camp at, 106 ; battle of, Spanish victory, 1495 ; man with broken spine cured by a miracle, 6 ; a Moor converted by a miracle at, 6 ; topography of, 119
Reid, Captain Savile G., xv, 164
Rejon, Captain Juan, commissioned as Governor of the Conquest of Palma and Tenerife, 88 ; procures execution of Pedro del Algava, 87 ; killed by Hernan Peraça, 88
Remnants of the Guanche Language, xx-xxvi
Retama, iv
Rfyen, 72
Riberol, Hernando de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Riço Grimaldi, Domenico, of Genoa, Magistrate of Tenerife, 116
Rio, xvi
Robert, an old French clergyman, curate to Holy Image of Candelaria, at San Blas, 122
Rodriguez, Friar Tomas, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 12

Roman Kalendar, 22
Romano, Blasino, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Romans, 27
Rome, Saint Peter, Apostle of, 46
Romeria, x
Rosario, hermitage of, Tenerife, 75
Roxa, mountain, Tenerife, 20
Ruiz, Nicolas, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Ruiz de Virues, Don Alonso, Bishop of Canarias (1543-1545), 130

Sabinas, 24
Saboya, Friar Juan de, of the Order of Preachers, 1530, 126
Saint Dominic, Order of, vii, xi, 14
Saint James, Apostle of Spain, 46
Saint John the Evangelist, Apostle of India, 46
Saint Michael, 77
Saint Paul, Apostle of Greece, 46
Saint Peter, Apostle of Rome, 46
Saint Saviour. *See* San Salvador.
Saint Thomas, Apostle of India, 46
Salazar, Lope de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Salle, Gadifer de la, Lieutenant of Jean de Béthencourt, ii
Salsos, campaign of, 77
Samuel, First Book of, ch. 1, 124; ch. 5, 67; Second Book of, 52
San Amaro or Mauro, image of, Tenerife, 75
San Benito, church of, Laguna, 23
San Blas, Tenerife, cave of, 58, 59, 68; Holy Image of Candelaria removed from, 121-123
San Christoval de la Laguna, Tenerife. *See* Laguna.
San Domingo. *See* Santo Domingo.
San Francisco, convent of, Tenerife, its famous crucifix, 76-78; Order of, Canaries, Bartolomé Casanova, Provincial, 1590, 77
San Gonzalo de Amarante, image of, Icod, 76; Laguna, *ib.*
San Juan, Tenerife, topography of, 119
San Lucar de Barrameda, embarcation of troops for second Tenerife expedition, 1494, 99
San Marcos, bay of, Icod, 75; image of, at Icod, 75
San Martin Cabrera, Luis, Regidor of Tenerife, Governor of the fort of Santa Cruz, 1591, 119, 120
San Martin Llarena, Luis de, of Orotava, captain of cavalry, heir to Alonso de Llarena, knight, 116
San Mauro, image of, Tenerife, 75
San Pedro, Convent of Friars Preachers of, Daute, 76
San Pedro Martyr, Convent of, Gran Canaria, 1539, 129
San Roque, hill of, Tenerife, 102
San Salvador, Fuerteventura, church of, 66, 67
San Vicente, Friar Hieronimo de, Vicar-Provincial, 127
Sañagua, first wife of Ben Tahod, only son of Imobac Bencomo, 103
Sanchez de Morales, Alonso, native of Fuerteventura, 1497, 61, 62
Sanctus Maclonius, 29
Santa Cruz, Friar Gil de, 130
Santa Cruz, Tenerife, x, xi; blind man cured by Our Lady of Candelaria, 6; Sancho de Herrera lands at, 82; its site, *ib.*; Alonso de Lugo lands at, May, 1493, 89; his second expedition lands at, Nov. 21 1494, 100; man crushed by a rock, saved by a miracle, 5; topography of, 119
Santa Maria de Guadaloupe, Church of, 63
Santa Maria de la Antigua, Church of, Seville, 46
Santa Marta, Colombia, Governors of, 112
Santiago, Church of, Seville, 73; Master of, Don Lorenzo Suarez de Figueroa, 11; Tenerife, 75; hermitage of, 60
Santiago de Adexe, Tenerife, topography of, 120
Santo Domingo, Convent of, Laguna, 76; possesses original of transfer of Holy Image of Candelaria to Friars Preachers, 1530, 126; Archives of, 127
Santo Domingo, Order of, vii, xi, 14, 76
Sardo, Anton Martin, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Sarmiento, Doña Constanza, daughter of Diego de Herrera and Inez Peraça, wife of Pedro Hernandez de Saavedra, 86
Sat, 28
Sauer, Dr. Fritz, xiv, 161
Sauzal, Marquis of, his great dragon tree, 37
Sauzal, Tenerife, topography of, 119
Seligreses, 130
Senegal, The Priest of, ejects the Friars Preachers, 1539, 129
Sepulveda, Francisco de, cousin of Luis de Sepulveda, of the Council

of the King of Spain, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Serna, Miguel de la. *See* Cerda, Miguel de la.
Sertorius, Life of, Plutarch, ii, 21, 27, 143
Seville, x ; Church of Santa Maria de la Antigua, 46 ; Church of Santiago el Mayor, G. Argote de Molina buried in, 1600, 73; Hernan Perez, a knight of, 84 ; Regidor of, Gonzalo Argote de Molina, 73
Sicily, 27
Silos, The, Tenerife, 119
Sion, 52
Socorro, El, Hermitage of, 47, 53, 59, 89, 100, 104
Solis, Diego de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Sonat, Ac, 27
Sosa, José de, 1678, xi, 153
Spain, Canary wine exported to, 23 ; first Spanish landing at Tenerife, 1464, 82, 83 ; Images of, 131 ; Kings of:—Ferdinand, the Catholic, II of Aragon, V of Castile (1479-1516), jointly with his wife, Isabella of Castile, the Catholic (1479-1504), 85 ; Queens of :—Elisabeth of Portugal, Empress of Germany and Queen of Spain and Naples (1526-1536), wife of Charles V, 128 ; Saint James, Apostle of, 46
Spanish priests neglect to make dictionaries of Guanche language, xviii
Sprositus, 22
Strabo, on the Canary Islands, ii
Stuart, John Patrick Crichton, *third Marquis of Bute, Catalogue of a Collection of Original Manuscripts, formerly belonging to the Holy Office of the Canary Islands, purchased by the Marquis of Bute. Edited by W. de Gray Birch,* 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1903, xix, 171 ; collects Guanche words, xviii ; *on the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife,* London, 1891, xviii, 20, 27, 30, 35, 37, 167
Suarez, Fernando, Canon of the church of Canaria, Public Notary, 1497, 63
Suarez de Figueroa, Dr. Don Fernando, Bishop of Canarias (1588-1596), biographical note on, 11 ; comment of Argote de Molina on, *ib.* ; visits House of Our Lady of Candelaria, 1587, 131 ; his bequest for a chaplain, *ib.*
Suarez de Figueroa, Don Lorenzo, Count of Feria, 1468, 11
Suarez de Figueroa, Lorenzo, 1590, descendant of Christóval de Valcaçar, 116
Suarez de Magueda, Gonzalo, of Puerto de Santa Maria, enlists troops for de Lugo, 1494, 99
Suarez Gallinato, Andres, brother of Hieronimo de Valdes, a Conqueror of Tenerife, 112 ; grandfather of Juan Suarez Gallinato, 113
Suarez Gallinato, Juan, Captain, grandson of Andres Suarez Gallinato, 113
Sun God, The, 30

T (Guanche article), 30
Tabaybe, 24
Table of the 65 Miracles, Book IV, A. de Espinosa, *The Origin and Miracles,* etc., 1594, 5-7
Tabona, 34, 48
Tacaronte, Tenerife, "The Garden of the Guanches," Mencey of, viii, 54 ; 1464, 82 ; does not attack the Spaniards, 1493, 91 ; Museum of, its dispersal, xvii ; plague in, 1494, 104 ; topography of, 119
Tagaos, Pedro Benitez dies fighting in, 110
Tagara, Tenerife, topography of, 120
Tagasaste, xiv, xv, 197
Tagoror, place of assembly, xxiv, 37, 49
Tahoror, the assembly, 37 ; Lord Bute on, *ib.*
Tamarco, 32, 37, 38, 55
Taoro (Orotava), Lord Bute's derivation of name of, 37 ; Overlord of, viii, 36. *See* also Batzenuhya ; Betsenubyra : Imobac Bencomo ; plague in, 1494, 104 ; territory of, Alonso de Lugo in, 106
Te, 20
Tea, iv, 23, 34
Tegghia de' Corbizzi, Angiolino del, of Florence, 1341, gives Guanche numerals, 28
Tegina, Tenerife, 119
Tegueste, viii ; King of, 32, 36, 54 ; Lord of, 1464, 82 ; 1493, 91 ; plague in, 1494, 104 ; territory of, 82, 89 ; topography of, 119 ; vineyards of, 23, 119
Teide, 20. *See* also Teyde.
Tener, snow, 20
Tenerife, not attacked by Jean de Béthencourt, iii ; botany of, 23 ;

Capitular Book of, 110; Conquerors of, list of the, 1495, 113-115; conquest of, and history to 1558, 81, etc.; description of the island of, by A. de Espinosa, 1594, 12, 17-42; entomology of, xv; etymology of name of, v; Governor of, Alonso de Lugo, 1497, 61; Image of Our Lady of Candelaria never absent from its cave in, 7, 68; other images found in, 74-78; jurors of, 1497, 110; Lords of, assembly of, 54, 55; magistrates of, 1497, 109, 110; criticism on, 1591, 121; *On the Ancient Language of the Natives of Tenerife*, by the Marquis of Bute, 1891, xviii, 20; ordinances of, 1497, 110; Our Lady of Candelaria favours, 46; Overlord of. *See* Imobac Bencomo; products of, 1590, 22, etc.; rulers of, viii, 82; Island of, sold to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabel of Spain, 85; Spaniards land at, 1464, 82, 83; Francisco Maldonado attacks, 87; de Lugo defeated at Centejo, 1493, 91, etc.; treachery of Spaniards in, 97; survey of, by Alonso de Lugo, 1501, 117, etc.; topography of, 118, etc.

Teno, Cape, Tenerife, 20

Terra Nova, Duchess of. *See* Fernandez de Lugo, Doña Porcia Magdalena.

Teyde, mountain, Tenerife, 19, 20, 23, 119; site of the Guanche Hell, 30

Thener, mountain, 20

Theocritus, iv

Throckmorton, Sir Arthur. knight (1557-1626), his autograph on copy of G. Argote de Molina's *Nobleza del Andaluzia*, 1588, taken from Cadiz, 1596, 199

Ticknor, George (1791-1871), states Argote de Molina's edition of *Conde Lucanor*, by Prince Juan Manuel, to be one of the rarest books in the world, 73, 201

Tiepfsepmeri, 71

Tiles, limes, 24

Timour, *The Embassy of Clavijo to Timour*. *See* Gonzalez de Clavijo, Ruy.

Tinerfe, 26

Tinquaro, brother of Imobac Bencomo, Overlord of Taoro, defeats the Spaniards at Centejo, 1493, 91, etc.; succeeds Imobac Bencomo, 1494, 103

Tirado, Friar Domingo, of the Order of Preachers, 1590, 13

Torres, Juan de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114

Trew, Miss Ethel, Report on the present condition of the Image of Our Lady of Candelaria, 137, 138

Tristram, Henry Baker, D.D., F.R.S., cited, xv, 166

Truxillo, Fernando de. *See* Truxillo, Hernando de.

Truxillo, Hernando de, a knight of Xeres, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100, 106; Lieutenant of the Governor of Tenerife, 1497, 63; a Land Commissioner of Tenerife, 1502, 117; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113

Turian, Leonardo, engineer, description of Canaries, 81

Uzzah, death of, 52

Vaez, Pedro, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114

Valcaçar, Christóval de, Licentiate, a knight, an early settler in Tenerife, 116; his descendants, *ib.*

Valcaçar, Captain, 1590; descendant of Christóval de Valcaçar, 116

Valdes, Hieronimo de, son of Pedro de Algava, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 88; survives battle of Centejo, 95; continues in military service, 110; Magistrate of Tenerife, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, *ib.*

Valdespino, Christoval de, Magistrate of Tenerife, 1497, 109, 113; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113

Valdez. *See* Valdes.

Vallejo, Antonio de, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113; Notary to the Council, 128

Vargas, Sancho de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113

Vela, Cabo de la, Colombia, 112

Ven, 26

Venatico, iv, 24

Venetian ship, brings crucifixes to Barcelona, 78

Vera, Hernando de, son of Pedro de Vera, sails for Spain with captive Canarians, 86

Vera, Pedro de, a knight of Xeres, Governor of Canaria, 1483; attacks

Tenerife, 85, 86; deposed by the King of Spain, 86; succeeded by Francisco Maldonado, *ib.*
Verde, Marcos, Chief Constable, Laguna, 1534, 127
Vergara, Ana de, sister of Pedro de Vergara, wife of Christoval de Ponte, 115
Vergara, Friar Martin de, Prior of the Friars Preachers, Tenerife, 1539, 129
Vergara, Pedro de, joins Alonso de Lugo, 1492, 88; survives battle of Centejo, 95; at Realejo, 106; a knight of Seville, Chief Magistrate of Tenerife, 112, 113; marries Anna de Lugo, niece of Alonso de Lugo, 112; brother of Ana de Vergara, wife of Christoval de Ponte, 115; a Land Commissioner of Tenerife, 1502, 117; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Vetch, 24
Viana, Antonio de, *Antigüedades de las Islas Afortunadas*, Sevilla, 1604-v, xi, xix, 29, 143, 163, 172; Guanche words preserved by, xx, xxvi
Viburnum rigidum, iv
Viedma, Mendo de, appointed Bishop of Canarias by Henry III., King of Leon and Castile, 1404, 84
Viero y Clavijo, José de, *Noticias de la Historia General de las Islas da Canaria*, Madrid, 1772, xiii, 148, 154
Villaflor, Tenerife, topography of, 120
Villaroel, Pedro de, Notary Secretary, 1590, 14
Viña, Mateo, of Genoa, finances Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 99; joins Alonso de Lugo, 1494, 100; one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 113
Vincheni, 20
Viola cheiranthifolia, iv
Violets, iv
Virgil, Æneid, Book IV., 247-254, on Mount Atlas, 21, 22; Dryden's translation, 22
Visnea mocanera, iv, 33
Vizcarra, Friar Hieronimo, of the Order of Preachers, first Vicar of the new Hermitage of Our Lady of Candelaria, 1530, 126
Vrvivinrn, 72

Waldo, Edmund Gustavus Bloomfield Meade, xv. 165, 168
Wax, Miracle of the, 60; port of, Tenerife, 60
White, Luke, of Guimar, xv

Xeme, 71
Xerac, 27
Xerax, 27, 28
Xeres, Alonso de, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Xerez, Hernando de Truxillo, a knight of, 100, 109
Xeres, Pedro de Vera, a knight of, 85

Yañez, Gonzalo, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 115
Yañez, Rodrigo, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Ygueste, Tenerife, 56
Yoya, 33

Zahori, impostor, 54
Zamora, Father Fray Diego de, Commissary of the Holy Office, 1558, 131
Zapata, Juan, one of the Conquerors of Tenerife, 114
Zurara, Gomes Eannes, de, ii, 151, 170
Zurita, Gerónimo, letters from Gonzalo Argote de Molina, 73

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